THE AGRICOLA AND GERMANIA OF TACITUS.

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WITH

A REVISED TEXT, ENGLISH NOTES, AND MAPS.

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PREFACE

The Treatise on Germany and the Life of Agricola have, perhaps, been edited as frequently as any of the Latin Classics. They exhibit in a singularly convenient form the manner and genius of one of the greatest of ancient historians; and thus at once possess a great literary value, and are peculiarly useful as text-books in our Schools and Universities. About works which have been so diligently studied we can hardly expect to say much that is original. We have endeavoured, with the aid of recent editions, thoroughly to elucidate the text, explaining the various difficulties, critical and grammatical, which occur to the student. Information which is now amply supplied by the dictionaries of biography and geography we have thought it unnecessary to furnish. We have consulted

throughout, besides the older commentators, the editions of Ritter and Orelli, but we are under special obligations to the labours of the recent German editors, Wex and Kritz, an obligation which must not be measured by the extent of our references to them.

We have followed, but with some important variations, the text of Orelli. A table is given of the passages in which we have adopted a different reading.

We frequently quote from our translation (published in 1868). It may be as well to explain that in some instances we have seen reason to modify the renderings there given.

A. J. C.
W. J. B.

LONDON,
January, 1869.

CONTENTS.

List of Editions and Translations of the Agricola and Germania of Tacitus which have been consulted by the present Editors. [This list is confined to works of the present century.]

J. Aikin, 1823. Translation of the Agricola and Germania with notes. 4th Edition. This is a work designed rather for general readers than for scholars and students.

C. Roth, 1833. Edition of the Agricola, with learned and copious German notes, which are however hardly adapted to ordinary students.

P. Frost, 1847. Edition of the Agricola and Germania, with English notes. It is suitable for the use of schools, but is now rather out of date.

Dr Latham, 1851. Edition of the Germania, for students of philology and ethnology. Critical and grammatical difficulties are not discussed.

F. C. Wex, 1852. Edition of the Agricola, with a thoroughly revised text, Prolegomena, in which every difficult and corrupt passage is fully discussed, and Latin notes. This is the most valuable of all recent editions of the Agricola, and is the result of most laborious research.

F. C. Wex, 1852. Edition of the Agricola for the use of Schools, without the Prolegomena and with the notes of the larger edition translated into German.

M. Haupt, 1855. Edition of the Germania, with a new and carefully revised text, for the use of Schools.

W. Smith, 1855. Edition of the Agricola and Germania, with English notes, which are chiefly taken from Ruperti and Passow, and with Boetticher's essay on the style of Tacitus.

A. J. Henrichsen, 1855. German translation of the Agricola only partially complete.

W. S. Tyler, 1857. Edition of the Agricola and Germania, with English notes, drawn from the best commentators, and with a life of Tacitus. Published at New York. This is a useful edition, but the notes are rather too diffuse.

Kritz, 1859. Edition of the Agricola, mainly based upon Wex, with Latin notes.

Kritz, 1860. Edition of the Germania, mainly based upon Haupt, with Latin notes.

[Both these editions we have found very useful.]

K. A. Löw, 1862. German translation of the Germania, with the Latin text, and notes.

N. Mösler, 1862. German translation of the Germania, with the Latin text, and notes.

G. and F. Thudichum, 1862. German translation of the Germania, with the Latin text, and notes.

NOTES ON THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF TACITUS.

Little or nothing is known of the life of Tacitus except what he tells us himself, or what we may gather from the Epistles of his friend, the younger Pliny. His *praenomen* is a matter of doubt. It is commonly written *Caius* (on the authority of Sidonius Apollinaris), but it is given as Publius in the best MS. of the *Annals*. The name *Cornelius* suggests a possible connection with the great patrician Gens which was thus designated. But there was also a plebeian house of the same name, and it must be remembered that in the time of the Empire the *nomina gentilia* had become widely diffused. With regard to his parentage we have at least a probable conjecture to guide us. The elder Pliny was, he tells us (*Nat. Hist.* VII. 17), acquainted with one Cornelius Tacitus, who was then a Procurator in Belgic Gaul, and who had a son. It has been supposed that this Tacitus was the historian's father. The similarity of name, the coincidence of dates, and the probability that at some time of his life our author was familiar with the neighbourhood of North-Eastern Gaul, incline us to accept the conjecture, which is further supported by the fact that the circumstances of his career seem to imply an origin which was respectable rather than dignified. A Procurator was generally a person of Equestrian rank. About the date of his birth nothing can be certainly affirmed. It is indeed approximately fixed by several expressions used by the younger Pliny. That writer says (*Epist.* VII. 20) that Tacitus and himself were "nearly equal in age

and rank (aetate et dignitate propemodum *aequales*)." The question is how far *aequales* must be considered to be modified by *propemodum*. We think the word should be taken to imply a considerable difference. Pliny himself says, "When I was a very young man (*adolescentulus*) and you were at the height of your fame and reputation, I earnestly desired to imitate you." *Adolescentulus* is a very vague term, but Pliny may be taken to define this application of it to himself when he tells us (*Epist.* v. 8) that he was in his nineteenth year when he began to speak in the Forum. He was, as he tells us himself (*Epist.* VI. 20), in his eighteenth year when the famous eruption of Vesuvius took place (A.D. 79), and he must therefore have been born A.D. 61 or 62. We are inclined to put the date of the birth of Tacitus at least ten years earlier. In this conclusion we are supported by the passage which we find in the third chapter of the *Life of Agricola*. There he speaks of those who had survived the evil days of Domitian as coming under two classes, the young men who had become old, the old 'who had advanced to the very verge and end of existence.' He must have included himself in the former class. The *Agricola* was published before the death of Nerva but after the adoption of Trajan, *i.e.* in the latter part of the year 97. It may surprise us that Tacitus could have spoken of himself as being then an old man. But the term *senior* was technically applied at Rome (Aul. Gellius, X. 28, quoting Tubero) to those who had passed their forty-fifth year. And C. Cotta (in a speech to the people preserved to us in one of the fragments of Sallust) speaks of himself, he being then forty-eight, as an old man. If Tacitus was fifty in A.D. 97, he must have been born A.D. 47;

if an interval of fifteen years is thought too much to be borne out by Pliny's *propemodum* (occurring, it must be remembered, in a complimentary letter, and from its very employment implying no inconsiderable difference), we must not anyhow fix a later date than A. D. 51 or 52.

The town of Interamna (now Terni) in Umbria has been named as the birthplace of Tacitus. There is no direct proof of the assertion, but it is known that this town was in the third century the seat of the family of the Emperor Tacitus. This prince, who occupied the throne for a few months after the death of Aurelian A.D. 275, was accustomed to claim descent from the historian, and honoured his memory by directing that ten copies of his works should be annually transcribed and placed in the public libraries.

If our conjecture as to the date of his birth be correct, Tacitus must have attained the period of youth in the great year (69) which witnessed the fall of three Emperors. His descriptions of some of the scenes of that time, among which we may specify the entry of the Flavianist troops into Rome (*Hist.* III. 83), look like the work of an eye-witness.

It has been suggested that Tacitus made the acquaintance of Agricola at some time in the three years (A. D. 74—77) during which that officer held the government of Aquitania. There is, it has been thought, a particularity about his description of Agricola's administration which indicates the intimate acquaintance of one who either held some official position, or was otherwise closely connected with it. This position may possibly have included something of the intimate relation in which Agricola himself at the opening of his career had stood to Suetonius

Paulinus (*Agr.* 5). However this may be, it is certain that at or before this time an intimate acquaintance had been formed between the two men. In A.D. 77 Agricola returned to Rome to fulfil the duties of the Consulship. During his year of office he betrothed his daughter (born A.D. 65) to his young friend. *Juveni mihi*, says Tacitus, *filiam despondit*. *Juvenis*, like other Latin terms denoting age, is elastic in its signification, but it is particularly applicable to one who was between his twenty-fifth and thirtieth year. The marriage was celebrated in the following year, the same in which Agricola assumed his command in Britain.

The illustrious alliance thus formed was probably the means of introducing Tacitus to a career of public distinction. His elevation, he says (*Hist.* I. 1) was "begun by Vespasian, augmented by Titus, and still further advanced by Domitian." What offices he may have held under the first and second of these princes, it is impossible to determine. Agricola himself was Quaestor and Tribune of the People before he reached the Praetorship. But the Quaestors were employed in the Provinces. If we suppose Tacitus to have remained at Rome we may conjecture that he filled the office of Aedile, and as Vespasian, his first patron died June 23, A.D. 79, that he was appointed to it early in that year. His next office was probably that of Tribune of the People, which, as Titus died Sept. 13, A.D. 81, he must have held either A.D. 80 or in the following year. We know from his own testimony (*Ann.* XI. 11) that he was Praetor A.D. 88, in which year Domitian celebrated the Ludi Saeculares. In 89 or 90 he left Rome with his wife, and did not return till after the death of Agricola, which took place

August 23, A.D. 93. (See *Agr.* ch. 45). It is certain, however, that he was in Rome during the last period of Domitian's reign. The language in which at the close of the *Agricola* he describes the horrors of that time is full of the bitterness, and even of the self-reproach of one who had been compelled to witness and to sanction by his presence the cruelties of the tyrant.

Domitian was assassinated Sept. 18, A.D. 95. Two years afterwards Tacitus was advanced to the dignity of the Consulship. Verginius Rufus had died in his year of office, and Tacitus was appointed to succeed him. He also delivered a funeral oration on his predecessor. "Hic supremus," says Pliny of Rufus (*Epist.* II. 1), "felicitati ejus cumulus accessit, laudator eloquentissimus."

In A.D. 100 he was appointed together with Pliny, who was then Consul elect, to conduct the impeachment preferred by the Province of Africa against their late Proconsul, Marcus Priscus. Pliny, who relates the trial at length (*Epist.* II. 11), describes his oratory by the epithet σεμνῶς. Here the public life of Tacitus terminated. We hear indeed in one of Pliny's letters (VI. 9) of his interesting himself in the candidature of one Julius Naso for some public office. We may gather from the letter that he was not then living at Rome, and, perhaps, as he was not aware that Naso had started under the auspices of Pliny, that he knew but little of what was going on in the capital.

The date of his death is not known, but that he at least lived down to the end of Trajan's reign, we may infer from *Ann.* II. 61, where he says that the Roman Empire "Nunc ad rubrum mare patescit," an expression which must refer to the successes obtained by Trajan in his Eastern expedition (A.D. 114—117).

The *Dialogus de Oratore*, which we have no hesitation in ascribing to the pen of Tacitus, was probably an early work. The expression which we find in ch. 17, "sextam jam felicis hujus principatus stationem qua Vespasianus rem publicam fovet," may not be intended to do more than fix the date of the imaginary conversation; but the passage indicates a more favourable opinion of the Emperor than he seems to have entertained in after years. (See *Hist.* II. 84, III. 34, &c.)

The *Agricola* was published towards the close of A.D. 97; the *Germany* in the following year. The *History* may with probability be ascribed to some year between A.D. 103 and 106. A very interesting letter of Pliny's (*Epist.* IX. 27) very probably refers to it. It was still, we know, in course of preparation when his *Epistles* VI. 16, 20 and VII. 33 were written. The first and second of these describe the famous eruption of Vesuvius, and were written at the historian's request. The third relates some particulars as to the prosecution of Baebius Massa in which Pliny had taken a part which he was anxious to have recorded. "Auguror," he writes, "historias tuas immortales futuras; quo magis illis (ingenue fatebor) inseri cupio." The publication of the *Annals* must be referred, as has before been said, to the close of Trajan's reign. Reference is made in *Ann.* XI. 11 to the *History* as an earlier work, "libris quibus res Domitiani imperatoris composui." The two contained together thirty books, as we learn from S. Jerome on Zachariah, ch. XIII., and related the events of about 70 years from the death of Augustus to the accession of Nerva. It is probable that Tacitus found it expedient to abandon the intention, announced in *Hist.* I. 1, of writing the history of the reigns of Nerva and Trajan. The records of an extinct

dynasty furnished a subject 'less anxious' if not 'more fertile.' Accordingly we find him (*Ann.* III. 24) resolved, if his life should be prolonged, to choose another theme in a still earlier period, the reign of Augustus.

The letters addressed by the younger Pliny to Tacitus are the following: I. 6, 20; IV. 13; VI. 9, 16, 20; VII. 20, 33; VIII. 7; IX. 10, 14. Of these the one numbered IX. 10 has been ascribed, and not without probability, to Tacitus himself. In IX. 23, Pliny tells an interesting anecdote illustrative of the literary reputation which Tacitus had attained.

The style of the Ciceronian age aimed at richness of expression, and smoothly flowing and gracefully finished periods. It had been brought by Cicero to perhaps as high a degree of perfection as the Latin language permitted. The succeeding age proposed to itself a somewhat different aim. It wanted something *piquant* and stimulating.

Hence quite a different set of literary characteristics. A style sententious and concise, sometimes unpleasantly abrupt, with far-fetched, poetical and even archaic terms and expressions became fashionable. Scope was thus given to some of the worst extravagances of bad taste, and we find nearly all the writers of what is called the silver age indulging in pedantries and affectations which frequently render them harsh and obscure. A re-action followed in favour of the earlier or Ciceronian style. Of this we have evident traces in Tacitus. He seems to have aimed at combining some of Cicero's most conspicuous graces with the pointed and sententious character of the new style. Though he occasionally wants clearness and perhaps

strains too much after effect, he is on the whole a far more natural and straightforward writer than most of his contemporaries.

It has been usual to regard Cicero as the representative of the most perfect Latinity, and Tacitus as a man of genius belonging to a declining age and infected by many of its chief literary vices. This view ignores several important considerations and requires some correction. It is true that the style of Cicero, from its general conformity to certain precise and definite rules, is fitted to be a model of Latinity in a sense in which that of Tacitus cannot be. A modern scholar feels instinctively that the first is much more suitable for imitation, but it is, we think, a great mistake to claim on this ground for Cicero a distinct superiority over Tacitus. Cicero indeed was enabled by his great abilities and wide culture to give a richness and flexibility to the Latin language which it had not known before his time, and we may venture to affirm that without him there could not have been a Tacitus. If, however, we are to measure excellence of style by its capacity of adequately representing the profound and subtle ideas of a really great thinker, we shall see good reason for placing Tacitus in at least as high a rank as Cicero. In vividness of imagination, in insight into the intricacies of human character, in the breadth and comprehensiveness of his historical faculty, he stands first among Roman writers. These qualities are continually reflected in his style. In the language of the time, permeated as it was with Greek ideas and phrases, he found an instrument ready to his hand; he used it with a consummate mastery of its various resources, and succeeded in giving to great thoughts a singularly characteristic expression.

INTRODUCTION TO THE LIFE OF AGRICOLA.

THE Life of Agricola is the most perfect specimen we possess of ancient biography. It was written, we are told, in a spirit of filial affection to commemorate the virtues of a good man and the successes of a great general. All that was most characteristic of a Roman of the highest type found a place in Agricola. An able officer, a just and at the same time a popular governor, a vigorous reformer of abuses, a conqueror of hitherto unknown regions, he was also a man of mental culture, and of singular gentleness and amiability. He had every quality which could attract the sympathy and admiration of his son-in-law. The present work was no doubt intended to be something more than the customary 'laudatio' which was pronounced in memory of an eminent man, though its style, resembling occasionally that of the orator rather than the historian, shows it to have been of a kindred

character. It was designed as a κτῆμα ἐς ἀεὶ, in which it might be felt that a record of the achievements of Roman arms was happily blended with an affectionate testimony to individual worth and distinction. For English readers, its purpose has been thoroughly fulfilled. Its bearing on one of the earliest passages of our history must always make it of interest to us.

Besides a description of the geography of Britain and of the general character of its inhabitants, in accordance with the best information which Tacitus could procure, we have also a brief outline of the Roman operations in the country previous to Agricola's arrival. The actual subjugation of Britain and its formation into a province cannot be said to have been even attempted earlier than the reign of Claudius. It had indeed been twice invaded by Caesar in B.C. 55 and 54, but Caesar, as Tacitus observes, was rather the discoverer than the conqueror of the island. During the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius and Caligula Britain was left to itself. In A.D. 43 an expedition was undertaken by the direction of the emperor Claudius under the command of Aulus Plautius who seems to have advanced as far as the northern bank of the Thames and with Vespasian as his legatus to have gained a firm footing for the Romans. In the following year Claudius invaded Britain in person and defeated one of its most powerful tribes, the Trinobantes, who occupied Hertford and Essex. This success was followed by the submission of the Regni in Sussex and of the Iceni in Norfolk and Suffolk. Plautius was

succeeded by Ostorius Scapula in A.D. 47, by whom the military colony of Camulodunum (Colchester) was established in A.D. 50. From this time the southern part of Britain (proxima pars Britanniae) may be considered to have been reduced to the form of a province. Camulodunum was practically the capital. Succeeding governors did little to extend the Roman dominion. In A.D. 61 the province was all but lost. The Iceni under Boudicea suddenly rose in rebellion, stormed Camulodunum and massacred its garrison. They were however completely beaten by Suetonius Paulinus, the governor, and the southern Britons were effectually reconquered while the northern were overawed. During the following years the country was gradually Romanised, and the colonies of Camulodunum, Verulamium and Londinium which had been destroyed in the insurrection of Boudicea recovered their position. Vespasian's reign from A.D. 69 to 79, saw the work of conquest still further advanced under Cerialis and his successor Frontinus. The Silures in South Wales and the Brigantes in Yorkshire yielded to the Roman arms. Agricola, who had served with credit under Cerialis and who became proconsul of Britain A.D. 78, in succession to Frontinus, found on his arrival by far the greater portion of the country already conquered, though much remained to be done to secure thoroughly the submission of the people.

The chief interest of this biography is evidently intended to centre in the grand event of the seventh year of Agricola's campaigns, the defeat of the con-

federate Caledonian tribes by which the subjugation of Britain to its furthest limits was finally achieved. The description of the preparations for the battle and of the battle itself would occupy a space altogether out of proportion to the rest of the work were it not meant by the author to claim the first place in the interest of his readers. Both the scene and the event appear to have deeply impressed the mind of Tacitus. The critical struggle, as it seemed to him, was fought out on the last confines of the world, and it added to the glory of Rome the renown of a triumph which completed the conquest of her most inaccessible and intractable province. The speeches of the rival generals which introduce it, are elaborate specimens of Tacitean eloquence. That of the Caledonian chief is conceived in the true spirit of the barbarian and is marked by a fierce impetuosity; that of Agricola is calm and dignified, and implies the consciousness of superior strength, which is the fruit of discipline and civilisation.

Soon after his decisive success, which excited the jealousy and ill-will of Domitian, Agricola returned to Rome. Of the last eight years of his life, which were passed in retirement, Tacitus tells us but little. In a few burning words he dwells on the horrors of the closing period of Domitian's reign and hints, though he forbears explicitly to assert, as Dion Cassius does, that Agricola was one of the Emperor's numerous victims.

The text of the Agricola presents many difficulties. In three or four passages it is probably hopelessly

corrupt. Great critical acumen has been brought to bear on it by Wex, who in the Prolegomena to his edition, published 1852, has discussed the entire subject of the MSS. as well as every controverted passage at great length. He thinks meanly of the recension of Puteolanus in the 15th century, on which the common reading of the text has from that time been based. He relies chiefly on one of the Vatican MSS. of the 15th century, the work of Pomponius Laetus and containing on the margin the various readings of another MS. which are written in the same hand. Wex's examination of this MS. is subsequent to that of Orelli and Baiter. Of recent editors he has done the most for the Agricola. The more recent edition of Kritz mainly owes its value to Wex.

Table of Passages in which the Text of this Edition of the Agricola differs from that of Orelli.

	ORELLI.	C. AND B.
Ch. IV.	Caesarum	Caesaris
	pater [Julii]	pater fuit
V.	exercitatior	excitatior
X.	unde et universis fama est transgressa	unde et in universum fama est transgressa
	quam † hactenus jussum et hiems abdebat	quia hactenus jussum et hiems appetebat
XI.	habitasse	occupasse
	persuasione	persuasiones
XIII.	† auctoritate operis	auctor iterati operis
XV.	manus	manum
XVIII.	ad occasionem uterentur	ad occasionem verterentur
XIX.	nescire	ascire
XX.	tanta	et tanta
XXI.	in bella	bello
XXII.	ad Taum	ad Tanaum
	nihil superest; secretum et silentium ejus non timeres	nihil superest secretum, ut silentium ejus non timeres
XXV.	oppugnasse	oppugnare
XXVII.	Britanni † non virtute sed occasione et arte ducis rati	Britanni non virtute sed occasione et arte ducis elusos rati
XXVIII.	mox ad aquam atque ut illa raptis secum plerisque	mox ad aquam atque utilia rapientes cum plerisque

	ORELLI.	C. AND B.
XXX.	totius Britanniae	toti Britanniae
XXXI.	bona fortunasque in tributum aggerant, annum in frumentum, corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis inter verbera ac contumelias conterunt	bona fortunaeque in tributum, ager atque annus in frumentum, corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis inter verbera et contumelias conteruntur
XXXII.	nisi si	nisi
	infirma vincla caritatis	infirma vincla loco caritatis
XXXV.	bellanti	bellandi
	in aequo	aequo
	convexi	connexi
	covinnarius et eques	covinnarius eques
XXXVI.	tres Batavorum cohortes	Batavorum cohortes
	commixtae	connisae
	minimeque † equestres. Ea enim pugnae facies erat, cum aegra diu aut stante simul equorum	minimeque equestris ea jam pugnae facies erat, quum aegre clivo instantes simul equorum
XLI.	cum formidine eorum	cum formidine ceterorum
XLII.	iturusne esset	iturusne esset in provinciam
XLIII.	statim oblitus est	statim oblitus. Et...
XLIV.	excessit sexto et quinquagesimo anno	excessit quarto et quinquagesimo anno
	in hac beatissimi seculi luce	in hanc beatissimi seculi lucem
XLV.	Massa Boebius jam tum reus erat	Massa Boebius tum reus erat
	nobis tam longae absentiae	nobis tum longae absentiae
XLVI.	oblivio obruet	oblivio obruit



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CALE
Grampius M
Clota Aest.
HIBERNIA
Mona
Ord
Si

VITA

GNAEI JULII AGRICOLAE.

I.—III. *Tacitus apologises for offering biography to an age which, though better and more hopeful than the terrible period of Domitian, was still so far demoralised as to prefer satires on vice to the praises of virtue.*

I. Clarorum virorum facta moresque posteris tradere, antiquitus usitatum, ne nostris quidem temporibus quamquam incuriosa suorum aetas omisit, quotiens magna aliqua ac nobilis virtus vicit ac supergressa est vitium parvis magnisque civitatibus commune, ignorantiam recti et invidiam. Sed apud priores ut agere digna memoratu pronum magisque in aperto erat, ita celeberrimus quisque ingenio ad prodendam virtutis memoriam sine gratia aut ambitione bonae tantum conscientiae pretio ducebatur. Ac plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare fiduciam potius morum quam arrogantiam arbitrati sunt, nec id Rutilio et Scauro citra fidem aut obtrectationi fuit; adeo virtutes iisdem temporibus optime aestimantur, quibus facillime gignuntur. At nunc narraturo mihi vitam defuncti hominis venia opus fuit; quam non petissem incusaturus tam saeva et infesta virtutibus tempora.

II. Legimus, quum Aruleno Rustico Paetus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse, neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum saevitum, delegato triumviris ministerio, ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. Scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani et libertatem senatus et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiae professoribus atque omni bona arte in exilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. Dedimus profecto grande patientiae documentum; et sicut vetus aetas vidit, quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos, quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique commercio. Memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere.

III. Nunc demum redit animus; et quamquam primo statim beatissimi seculi ortu Nerva Caesar res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeatque quotidie felicitatem temporum Nerva Traianus, nec spem modo ac votum Securitas publica, sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur assumpserit, natura tamen infirmitatis humanae tardiora sunt remedia quam mala; et ut corpora nostra lente augescunt, cito extinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius quam revocaveris. Subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiae dulcedo, et invisa primo desidia postremo amatur. Quid? si per quindecim annos, grande mortalis aevi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque saevitia principis interciderunt, pauci, et, uti dixerim, non modo aliorum, sed etiam nostri superstites sumus, exemptis e media vita tot annis, quibus iuvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactae

aetatis terminos per silentium venimus. Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis ac testimonium praesentium bonorum composuisse. Hic interim liber, honori Agricolae soceri mei destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus erit aut excusatus.

IV.—VII. A. D. 40.—A. D. 70. *Agricola's birth, parentage and education. He serves his military apprenticeship in Britain under Suetonius Paullinus at a peculiarly critical time. His marriage. He becomes Quaestor and Praetor. Death of his mother. He joins the cause of Vespasian, is appointed to the command of the 20th legion in Britain, and acquits himself with credit.*

IV. Gnaeus Iulius Agricola, vetere et illustri Foroiuliensium colonia ortus, utrumque avum procuratorem Caesaris habuit, quae equestris nobilitas est. Pater fuit Iulius Graecinus senatorii ordinis, studio eloquentiae sapientiaeque notus, iisque ipsis virtutibus iram Gaii Caesaris meritus; namque M. Silanum accusare iussus, et, quia abnuerat, interfectus est. Mater Iulia Procilla fuit, rarae castitatis. In huius sinu indulgentiaque educatus per omnem honestarum artium cultum pueritiam adolescentiamque transegit. Arcebat eum ab illecebris peccantium, praeter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuit, locum Graeca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mistum ac bene compositum. Memoria teneo solitum ipsum narrare se prima in iuventa studium philosophiae acrius, ultra quam concessum Romano ac senatori, hausisse, ni prudentia matris incensum ac flagrantem animum coërcuisset. Scilicet sublime et

erectum ingenium pulchritudinem ac speciem magnae excelsaeque gloriae vehementius quam caute appetebat. Mox mitigavit ratio et aetas, retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.

V. Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paulino, diligenti ac moderato duci, approbavit electus, quem contubernio aestimaret. Nec Agricola licenter, more iuvenum, qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt, neque segniter ad voluptates et commeatus titulum tribunatus et inscitiam rettulit; sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere a peritis, sequi optimos, nihil appetere in iactationem, nihil ob formidinem recusare, simulque et anxius et intentus agere. Non sane alias excitatior magisque in ambiguo Britannia fuit. Trucidati veterani, incensae coloniae, intersepti exercitus; tum de salute, mox de victoria certavere. Quae cuncta etsi consiliis ductuque alterius agebantur, ac summa rerum et recuperatae provinciae gloria in ducem cessit, artem et usum et stimulos addidere iuveni, intravitque animum militaris gloriae cupido, ingrata temporibus, quibus sinistra erga eminentes interpretatio, nec minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala.

VI. Hinc ad capessendos magistratus in urbem digressus Domitiam Decidianam, splendidis natalibus ortam, sibi iunxit, idque matrimonium ad maiora nitenti decus ac robur fuit. Vixeruntque mira concordia per mutuam caritatem et invicem se anteponendo, nisi quod in bona uxore tanto maior laus, quanto in mala plus culpae est. Sors quaesturae provinciam Asiam, proconsulem Salvium Titianum dedit. Quorum neutro corruptus est, quamquam et provincia dives ac parata peccantibus, et proconsul in omnem

aviditatem pronus quantalibet facilitate redempturus esset mutuam dissimulationem mali. Auctus est ibi filia, in subsidium simul et solatium; nam filium ante sublatum brevi amisit. Mox inter quaesturam ac tribunatum plebis atque ipsum etiam tribunatus annum quiete et otio transiit, gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit. Idem praeturae tenor et silentium; nec enim iurisdictio obvenerat. Ludos et inania honoris medio rationis atque abundantiae duxit, uti longe a luxuria, ita famae propior. Tum electus a Galba ad dona templorum recognoscenda, diligentissima conquisitione fecit, ne cuius alterius sacrilegium res publica quam Neronis sensisset.

VII. Sequens annus gravi vulnere animum domumque eius afflixit. Nam classis Othoniana licenter vaga, dum Intemelios (Liguriae pars est) hostiliter populatur, matrem Agricolae in praediis suis interfecit, praediaque ipsa et magnam patrimonii partem diripuit, quae caussa caedis fuerat. Igitur ad sollemnia pietatis profectus Agricola nuntio affectati a Vespasiano imperii deprehensus, ac statim in partes transgressus est. Initia principatus ac statum urbis Mucianus regebat, iuvene admodum Domitiano, et ex paterna fortuna tantum licentiam usurpante. Is missum ad delectus agendos Agricolam integreque ac strenue versatum vicesimae legioni, tarde ad sacramentum transgressae, praeposuit, ubi decessor seditiose agere narrabatur; quippe legatis quoque consularibus nimia ac formidolosa erat, nec legatus praetorius ad cohibendum potens, incertum, suo an militum ingenio. Ita successor simul et ultor electus rarissima moderatione maluit videri invenisse bonos quam fecisse.

VIII. IX. A.D. 70.—A.D. 78. *Singular tact of Agricola. He is appointed by Vespasian governor of Aquitania, is recalled to Rome to be made consul, and on the expiration of his consulate, becomes governor of Britain.*

VIII. Praeerat tunc Britanniae Vettius Bolanus, placidius quam feroci provincia dignum est. Temperavit Agricola vim suam, ardoremque compescuit, ne incresceret, peritus obsequi eruditusque utilia honestis miscere. Brevi deinde Britannia consularem Petilium Cerialem accepit. Habuerunt virtutes spatium exemplorum. Sed primo Cerialis labores modo et discrimina, mox et gloriam communicabat; saepe parti exercitus in experimentum, aliquando maioribus copiis ex eventu praefecit. Nec Agricola umquam in suam famam gestis exsultavit; ad auctorem ac ducem ut minister fortunam referebat. Ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in praedicando extra invidiam nec extra gloriam erat.

IX. Revertentem ab legatione legionis divus Vespasianus inter patricios ascivit, ac deinde provinciae Aquitaniae praeposuit, splendidae imprimis dignitatis administratione ac spe consulatus, cui destinarat. Credunt plerique militaribus ingeniis subtilitatem deesse, quia castrensis iurisdictio secura et obtusior ac plura manu agens calliditatem fori non exerceat. Agricola naturali prudentia, quamvis inter togatos, facile iusteque agebat. Iam vero tempora curarum remissionumque divisa; ubi conventus ac iudicia poscerent, gravis, intentus, severus, et saepius misericors; ubi officio satisfactum, nulla ultra potestatis persona. Tristitiam et arrogantiam et avaritiam exuerat; nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas

auctoritatem aut severitas amorem deminuit. Integritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre iniuria virtutum fuerit. Ne famam quidem, cui saepe etiam boni indulgent, ostentanda virtute aut per artem quaesivit; procul ab aemulatione adversus collegas, procul a contentione adversus procuratores, et vincere inglorium et atteri sordidum arbitrabatur. Minus triennium in ea legatione detentus ac statim ad spem consulatus revocatus est, comitante opinione Britanniam ei provinciam dari, nullis in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur. Haud semper errat fama; aliquando et elegit. Consul egregiae tum spei filiam iuveni mihi despondit, ac post consulatum collocavit; et statim Britanniae praepositus est, adiecto pontificatus sacerdotio.

X.—XII. *Britain; its boundaries, shape, surrounding seas, origin, character, customs of its inhabitants; climate, products of the soil.*

X. Britanniae situm populosque multis scriptoribus memoratos non in comparationem curae ingeniive referam, sed quia tum primum perdomita est; ita, quae priores nondum comperta eloquentia percoluere, rerum fide tradentur. Britannia, insularum, quas Romana notitia complectitur, maxima, spatio ac coelo in orientem Germaniae, in occidentem Hispaniae obtenditur; Gallis in meridiem etiam inspicitur. Septentrionalia eius, nullis contra terris, vasto atque aperto mari pulsantur. Formam totius Britanniae Livius veterum Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores oblongae scutulae vel bipenni assimilavere. Et est ea facies citra Caledoniam, unde et

in universum fama est transgressa. Sed immensum et enorme spatium procurrentium extremo iam litore terrarum velut in cuneum tenuatur. Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta insulam esse Britanniam affirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. Dispecta est et Thule, quia hactenus iussum, et hiems appetebat. Sed mare pigrum et grave remigantibus; perhibent ne ventis quidem proinde attolli; credo, quod rariores terrae montesque, caussa ac materia tempestatum, et profunda moles continui maris tardius impellitur. Naturam Oceani atque aestus neque quaerere huius operis est, ac multi rettulere. Unum addiderim, nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec litore tenus accrescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus atque ambire, et iugis etiam ac montibus inseri velut in suo.

XI. Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenae an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum. Habitus corporum varii, atque ex eo argumenta. Namque rutilae Caledoniam habitantium comae, magni artus Germanicam originem asseverant. Silurum colorati vultus, torti plerumque crines, et posita contra Hispania Iberos veteres traiecisse easque sedes occupasse fidem faciunt. Proximi Gallis et similes sunt, seu durante originis vi, seu procurrentibus in diversa terris positio coeli corporibus habitum dedit. In universum tamen aestimanti Gallos vicinam insulam occupasse credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitionum persuasiones; sermo haud multum diversus; in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia, et, ubi advenere, in detrectandis eadem for-

mido. Plus tamen ferociae Britanni praeferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit. Nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus; mox segnitia cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate. Quod Britannorum olim victis evenit; ceteri manent, quales Galli fuerunt.

XII. In pedite robur; quaedam nationes et curru proeliantur; honestior auriga, clientes propugnant. Olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis trahuntur, nec aliud adversus validissimas gentes pro nobis utilius quam quod in commune non consulunt. Rarus duabus tribusque civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus; ita singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur. Coelum crebris imbribus ac nebulis foedum; asperitas frigorum abest. Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram; nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas. Quod si nubes non officiant, aspici per noctem solis fulgorem, nec occidere et exsurgere sed transire affirmant. Scilicet extrema et plana terrarum humili umbra non erigunt tenebras, infraque coelum et sidera nox cadit. Solum, praeter oleam vitemque et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta, patiens frugum, fecundum; tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt, eademque utriusque rei caussa, multus humor terrarum coelique. Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium victoriae. Gignit et oceanus margarita, sed subfusca ac liventia. Quidam artem abesse legentibus arbitrantur; nam in rubro mari viva ac spirantia saxis avelli, in Britannia, prout expulsa sint, colligi. Ego facilius crediderim naturam margaritis deesse quam nobis avaritiam.

XIII.—XVII. *Sketch of the Roman conquest of Britain from the invasion of Julius Caesar to its more complete subjugation by Claudius. Roman governors of Britain. Insurrection of the Britons under Boadicea; they storm Camalodunum, but are completely defeated by Suetonius Paullinus. Governors who succeeded Paullinus. Little done by them to advance the Roman dominion in Britain. Vigorous policy of Vespasian.*

XIII. Ipsi Britanni delectum ac tributa et iniuncta imperii munera impigre obeunt, si iniuriae absint; has aegre tolerant, iam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant. Igitur primus omnium Romanorum divus Iulius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quamquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas, ac litore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse. Mox bella civilia, et in rem publicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio Britanniae etiam in pace. Consilium id divus Augustus vocabat, Tiberius praeceptum. Agitasse Gaium Caesarem de intranda Britannia satis constat, ni velox ingenio mobilis poenitentiae, et ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent. Divus Claudius auctor iterati operis, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque et assumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano; quod initium venturae mox fortunae fuit. Domitae gentes, capti reges, et monstratus fatis Vespasianus.

XIV. Consularium primus Aulus Plautius praepositus, ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius; redactaque paulatim in formam provinciae proxima pars Britanniae. Addita insuper veteranorum colonia. Quaedam civitates Cogidumno regi donatae (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus

mansit), ut, vetere ac iam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. Mox Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quae fama aucti officii quaereretur. Didium Veranius excepit, isque intra annum extinctus est. Suetonius hinc Paulinus biennio prosperas res habuit subactis nationibus firmatisque praesidiis; quorum fiducia Monam insulam, ut vires rebellibus ministrantem, aggressus terga occasioni patefecit.

XV. Namque absentia legati remoto metu, Britanni agitare inter se mala servitutis, conferre iniurias et interpretando accendere. Nihil profici patientia, nisi ut graviora tamquam ex facili tolerantibus imperentur. Singulos sibi olim reges fuisse, nunc binos imponi, e quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona saeviret. Aeque discordiam praepositorum, aeque concordiam subiectis exitiosam; alterius manum, centuriones, alterius servos vim et contumelias miscere. Nihil iam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum. In proelio fortiorem esse, qui spoliet; nunc ab ignavis plerumque et imbellibus eripi domos, abstrahi liberos, iniungi delectus, tamquam mori tantum pro patria nescientibus. Quantulum enim transisse militum, si sese Britanni numerent? Sic Germanias excussisse iugum, et flumine, non oceano defendi; sibi patriam, coniuges, parentes, illis avaritiam et luxuriam caussas belli esse. Recessuros, ut divus Iulius recessisset, modo virtutem maiorum suorum aemularentur. Neve proelii unius aut alterius eventu pavescerent; plus impetus, maiorem constantiam penes miseros esse. Iam Britannorum etiam deos misereri, qui Romanum ducem absentem, qui

relegatum in alia insula exercitum detinerent: iam ipsos, quod difficillimum fuerit, deliberare. Porro in eiusmodi consiliis periculosius esse deprehendi quam audere.

XVI. His atque talibus invicem instincti, Boudicea, generis regii femina, duce (neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt) sumpsere universi bellum; ac sparsos per castella milites consectati, expugnatis praesidiis ipsam coloniam invasere ut sedem servitutis. Nec ullum in barbaris saevitiae genus omisit ira et victoria. Quod nisi Paulinus cognito provinciae motu propere subvenisset, amissa Britannia foret; quam unius proelii fortuna veteri patientiae restituit, (tenentibus arma plerisque, quos conscientia defectionis et propius ex legato timor agitabat), ni quamquam egregius cetera arroganter in deditos, et, ut suae cuiusque iniuriae ultor, durius consuleret. Missus igitur Petronius Turpilianus tamquam exorabilior et delictis hostium novus eoque poenitentiae mitior, compositis prioribus nihil ultra ausus Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit. Trebellius segnior et nullis castrŏrum experimentis comitate quadam curandi provinciam tenuit. Didicere iam barbari quoque ignoscere vitiis blandientibus, et interventus civilium armorum praebuit iustam segnitiae excusationem. Sed discordia laboratum, quum assuetus expeditionibus miles otio lasciviret. Trebellius, fuga ac latebris vitata exercitus ira indecorus atque humilis, precario mox praefuit, ac velut pacti exercitus licentiam, dux salutem; et seditio sine sanguine stetit. Nec Vettius Bolanus, manentibus adhuc civilibus bellis, agitavit Britanniam disciplina. Eadem inertia erga hostes, similis petulantia castrorum, nisi quod innocens

Bolanus et nullis delictis invisus caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis.

XVII. Sed ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam recuperavit, magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium spes. Et terrorem statim intulit Petilius Cerialis, Brigantum civitatem, quae numerosissima provinciae totius perhibetur, aggressus. Multa proelia, et aliquando non incruenta; magnamque Brigantum partem aut victoria amplexus est aut bello. Et Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset sed sustinuit molem Iulius Frontinus, vir magnus, quantum licebat, validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem armis subegit, super virtutem hostium locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus.

XVIII.—XXI. A. D. 78.—A. D. 79. *Successes of Agricola in Britain. Defeat of the Ordovices. Attack on the island of Mona. Terror and submission of the Britons. Moderation and equity of Agricola's government. His reform of abuses. He establishes forts and garrisons, and introduces Roman civilization.*

XVIII. Hunc Britanniae statum, has bellorum vices media iam aestate transgressus Agricola invenit, quum et milites velut omissa expeditione ad securitatem, et hostes ad occasionem verterentur. Ordovicum civitas haud multo ante adventum eius alam in finibus suis agentem prope universam obtriverat, eoque initio erecta provincia; et quibus bellum volentibus erat, probare exemplum, ac recentis legati animum opperiri, quum Agricola, quamquam transvecta aestas, sparsi per provinciam numeri, praesumpta apud militem illius anni quies, tarda et contraria bellum inchoaturo, et plerisque custodiri suspecta potius videbatur, ire obviam discrimini statuit; con-

tractisque legionum vexillis et modica auxiliorum manu, quia in aequum degredi Ordovices non audebant, ipse ante agmen, quo ceteris par animus simili periculo esset, erexit aciem. Caesaque prope universa gente, non ignarus instandum famae, ac, prout prima cessissent, terrorem ceteris fore, Monam insulam, cuius possessione revocatum Paulinum rebellione totius Britanniae supra memoravi, redigere in potestatem animo intendit. Sed, ut in dubiis consiliis, naves deerant; ratio et constantia ducis transvexit. Depositis omnibus sarcinis lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota vada et patrius nandi usus, quo simul seque et arma et equos regunt, ita repente immisit, ut obstupefacti hostes, qui classem, qui naves, qui mare exspectabant, nihil arduum aut invictum crediderint sic ad bellum venientibus. Ita petita pace ac dedita insula clarus ac magnus haberi Agricola, quippe cui ingredienti provinciam, quod tempus alii per ostentationem et officiorum ambitum transigunt, labor et periculum placuisset. Nec Agricola prosperitate rerum in vanitatem usus expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat victos continuisse; ne laureatis quidem gesta prosecutus est. Sed ipsa dissimulatione famae famam auxit aestimantibus, quanta futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.

XIX. Ceterum animorum provinciae prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta parum profici armis, si injuriae sequerentur, causas bellorum statuit excidere. A se suisque orsus primum domum suam coërcuit, quod plerisque haud minus arduum est quam provinciam regere. Nihil per libertos servosque publicae rei, non studiis privatis nec ex commendatione aut precibus centurionem, milites ascire, sed optimum

quemque fidissimum putare; omnia scire, non omnia exsequi; parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare, nec poena semper, sed saepius poenitentia contentus esse; officiis et administrationibus potius non peccaturos praeponere, quam damnare, quum peccassent. Frumenti et tributorum exactionem aequalitate munerum mollire, circumcisis, quae in quaestum reperta ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur. Namque per ludibrium assidere clausis horreis et emere ultro frumenta ac ludere pretio cogebantur; devortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut civitates, proximis hibernis, in remota et avia deferrent, donec, quod omnibus in promptu erat, paucis lucrosum fieret.

XX. Haec primo statim anno comprimendo egregiam famam paci circumdedit, quae vel incuria vel intolerantia priorum haud minus quam bellum timebatur. Sed ubi aestas advenit, contracto exercitu multus in agmine, laudare modestiam, disiectos coërcere; loca castris ipse capere, aestuaria ac silvas ipse praetentare; et nihil interim apud hostes quietum pati, quominus subitis excursibus popularetur; atque ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus irritamenta pacis ostentare. Quibus rebus multae civitates, quae in illum diem ex aequo egerant, datis obsidibus iram posuere, et praesidiis castellisque circumdatae, et tanta ratione curaque ut nulla ante Britanniae nova pars.

XXI. Illacessita transiit sequens hiems, saluberrimis consiliis absumpta. Namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque bello faciles quieti et otio per voluptates assuescerent, hortari privatim, adiuvare publice, ut templa, fora, domos exstruerent, laudando promptos et castigando segnes. Ita honoris aemulatio

pro necessitate erat. Iam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut, qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor, et frequens toga, paulatimque discessum ad delenimenta vitiorum, porticus et balnea et conviviorum elegantiam; idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, quum pars servitutis esset.

XXII.—XXIV. A.D. 80.—A.D. 82. *Agricola pushes his conquests as far north as the Tanaus and draws a line of forts from the Clota to the Bodotria. He crosses the Clota and posts some troops on the western coast opposite Ireland. Description of Ireland.*

XXII. Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit, vastatis usque ad Tanaum (aestuario nomen est) nationibus. Qua formidine territi hostes quamquam conflictatum saevis tempestatibus exercitum lacessere non ausi; ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit. Annotabant periti non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse. Nullum ab Agricola positum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum aut pactione ac fuga desertum; crebrae eruptiones; nam adversus moras obsidionis annuis copiis firmabantur. Ita intrepida ibi hiems, et sibi quisque praesidio, irritis hostibus eoque desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque damna aestatis hibernis eventibus pensare tum aestate atque hieme iuxta pellebantur. Nec Agricola umquam per alios gesta avidus intercepit; seu centurio seu praefectus, incorruptum facti testem habebat. Apud quosdam acerbior in conviciis narrabatur; ut erat comis bonis, ita adversus malos iniucundus. Ceterum ex iracundia nihil supererat secretum,

ut silentium eius non timeres; honestius putabat offendere quam odisse.

XXIII. Quarta aestas obtinendis, quae percucurrerat, insumpta, ac, si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus. Namque Clota et Bodotria, diversi maris aestibus per immensum revectae, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur, quod tum praesidiis firmabatur; atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.

XXIV. Quinto expeditionum anno nave prima transgressus ignotas ad id tempus gentes crebris simul ac prosperis proeliis domuit, eamque partem Britanniae, quae Hiberniam aspicit, copiis instruxit, in spem magis quam ob formidinem, si quidem Hibernia medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita et Gallico quoque mari opportuna valentissimam imperii partem magnis invicem usibus miscuerit. Spatium eius, si Britanniae comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum coelumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt; melius aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat, ac specie amicitiae in occasionem retinebat. Saepe ex eo audivi legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse, idque etiam adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma, et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur.

XXV.—XXIX. A. D. 83.—A. D. 84. *Agricola undertakes an expedition by sea and land to the north of the Bodotria, and is met by a confederation of the Caledonian tribes who make a sudden and furious attack on the 9th legion, but are ultimately defeated. They*

prepare however to renew the conflict. Strange adventures of a Usipian cohort. Agricola advances as far as the Grampian mountains, where he is met by the assembled forces of the Caledonians under Galgacus.

XXV. Ceterum aestate, qua sextum officii annum inchoabat, amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium et infesta hostilis exercitus itinera timebantur, portus classe exploravit. Quae ab Agricola primum assumpta in partem virium sequebatur egregia specie, quum simul terra simul mari bellum impelleretur, ac saepe iisdem castris pedes equesque et nauticus miles misti copiis et laetitia sua quisque facta, suos casus attollerent, ac modo silvarum ac montium profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluctuum adversa, hinc terra et hostis, hinc victus oceanus militari iactantia compararentur. Britannos quoque, ut ex captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupefaciebat, tamquam aperto maris sui secreto ultimum victis perfugium clauderetur. Ad manus et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes populi paratu magno, maiore fama, uti mos est de ignotis, oppugnare ultro castellum adorti, metum ut provocantes addiderant; regrediendumque citra Bodotriam, et excedendum potius quam pellerentur, ignavi specie prudentium admonebant, quum interim cognoscit hostes pluribus agminibus irrupturos. Ac ne superante numero et peritia locorum circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tres partes exercitu incessit.

XXVI. Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repente consilio universi nonam legionem, ut maxime invalidam, nocte aggressi, inter somnum ac trepidationem, caesis vigilibus, irrupere. Iamque in ipsis castris pugnabatur, quum Agricola, iter hostium ab ex-

ploratoribus edoctus et vestigiis insecutus, velocissimos equitum peditumque assultare tergis pugnantium iubet, mox ab universis adiici clamorem; et propinqua luce fulsere signa. Ita ancipiti malo territi Britanni; et Romanis rediit animus, ac securi pro salute de gloria certabant. Ultro quin etiam erupere, et fuit atrox in ipsis portarum angustiis proelium, donec pulsi hostes, utroque exercitu certante, his, ut tulisse opem, illis, ne eguisse auxilio viderentur. Quod nisi paludes et silvae fugientes texissent, debellatum illa victoria foret.

XXVII. Cuius conscientia ac fama ferox exercitus nihil virtuti suae invium, et penetrandam Caledoniam inveniendumque tandem Britanniae terminum continuo proeliorum cursu fremebant; atque illi modo cauti ac sapientes prompti post eventum ac magniloqui erant. Iniquissima haec bellorum condicio est; prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur. At Britanni, non virtute, sed occasione et arte ducis elusos rati, nihil ex arrogantia remittere, quominus iuventutem armarent, coniuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent, coetibus ac sacrificiis conspirationem civitatum sancirent. Atque ita irritatis utrimque animis discessum.

XXVIII. Eadem aestate cohors Usipiorum per Germanias conscripta et in Britanniam transmissa magnum ac memorabile facinus ausa est. Occiso centurione ac militibus, qui ad tradendam disciplinam immisti manipulis exemplum et rectores habebantur, tres liburnicas adactis per vim gubernatoribus ascendere; et uno remigante, suspectis duobus eoque interfectis, nondum vulgato rumore ut miraculum praevehebantur. Mox ad aquam atque utilia rapientes

cum plerisque Britannorum sua defensantium proelio congressi, ac saepe victores, aliquando pulsi, eo ad extremum inopiae venere, ut infirmissimos suorum, mox sorte ductos vescerentur. Atque ita circumvecti Britanniam, amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus, pro praedonibus habiti, primum a Suevis, mox a Frisiis intercepti sunt. Ac fuere, quos per commercia venundatos et in nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium adductos indicium tanti casus illustravit.

XXIX. Initio aestatis Agricola domestico vulnere ictus. Anno ante natum filium amisit; quem casum neque, ut plerique fortium virorum, ambitiose, neque per lamenta rursus ac maerorem muliebriter tulit. Et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat. Igitur praemissa classe, quae pluribus locis praedata magnum et incertum terrorem faceret, expedito exercitu, cui ex Britannis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad montem Grampium pervenit, quem iam hostis insederat. Nam Britanni, nihil fracti pugnae prioris eventu, et ultionem aut servitium exspectantes, tandemque docti commune periculum concordia propulsandum, legationibus et foederibus omnium civitatum vires exciverant. Iamque super triginta milia armatorum aspiciebantur, et adhuc affluebat omnis iuventus et quibus cruda ac viridis senectus, clari bello et sua quisque decora gestantes, quum inter plures duces virtute et genere praestans, nomine Calgacus, apud contractam multitudinem proelium poscentem in hunc modum locutus fertur:

XXX.—XXXII. *Speech of Galgacus to his army. He dwells on the urgency of the crisis, on the hopelessness of escape from the Roman lust of dominion, on the almost certain success which will attend the*

united efforts of a hitherto unconquered people, whose freedom is threatened by a miscellaneous host of invaders which is held together by fear and terror rather than by fidelity and affection.

XXX. Quotiens caussas belli et necessitatem nostram intueor, magnus mihi animus est hodiernum diem consensumque vestrum initium libertatis toti Britanniae fore. Nam et universi servitutis expertes, et nullae ultra terrae, ac ne mare quidem securum imminente nobis classe Romana. Ita proelium atque arma, quae fortibus honesta, eadem etiam ignavis tutissima sunt. Priores pugnae, quibus adversus Romanos varia fortuna certatum est, spem ac subsidium in nostris manibus habebant, quia nobilissimi totius Britanniae, iique in ipsis penetralibus siti, nec servientium litora aspicientes, oculos quoque a contactu dominationis inviolatos habebamus. Nos terrarum ac libertatis extremos recessus ipse ac sinus famae in hunc diem defendit, atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est. Sed nunc terminus Britanniae patet. Nulla iam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus et saxa, et infestiores Romani, quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium ac modestiam effugeris. Raptores orbis, postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terrae, iam et mare scrutantur; si locuples hostis est, avari, si pauper, ambitiosi, quos non Oriens, non Occidens satiaverit. Soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari affectu concupiscunt. Auferre, trucidare, rapere falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.

XXXI. Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura carissimos esse voluit. Hi per delectus alibi servituri auferuntur; coniuges sororesque, etiamsi hostilem libidinem effugiant, nomine amicorum atque hospitum

polluuntur. Bona fortunaeque in tributum, ager atque annus in frumentum, corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis inter verbera ac contumelias conteruntur. Nata servituti mancipia semel veneunt, atque ultro a dominis aluntur; Britannia servitutem suam quotidie emit, quotidie pascit. Ac sicut in familia recentissimus quisque servorum etiam conservis ludibrio est, sic in hoc orbis terrarum vetere famulatu novi nos et viles in excidium petimur. Neque enim arva nobis aut metalla aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur. Virtus porro ac ferocia subiectorum ingrata imperantibus; et longinquitas ac secretum ipsum quo tutius, eo suspectius. Ita sublata spe veniae tandem sumite animum, tam quibus salus quam quibus gloria carissima est. Brigantes femina duce exurere coloniam, expugnare castra, ac, nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere iugum potuere; nos integri et indomiti et libertatem non in poenitentiam laturi, primo statim congressu ostendamus, quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit.

XXXII. An eandem Romanis in bello virtutem quam in pace lasciviam adesse creditis? Nostris illi dissensionibus ac discordiis clari vitia hostium in gloriam exercitus sui vertunt; quem contractum ex diversissimis gentibus ut secundae res tenent, ita adversae dissolvent, nisi Gallos et Germanos et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque, licet dominationi alienae sanguinem commodent, diutius tamen hostes quam servos, fide et affectu teneri putatis. Metus ac terror est, infirma vincla loco caritatis; quae ubi removeris, qui timere desierint, odisse incipient. Omnia victoriae incitamenta pro nobis sunt; nullae Romanos coniuges accendunt, nulli parentes fugam exprobraturi

sunt; aut nulla plerisque patria aut alia est. Paucos numero, trepidos ignorantia, coelum ipsum ac mare et silvas, ignota omnia, circumspectantes, clausos quodammodo ac vinctos dii nobis tradiderunt. Ne terreat vanus aspectus et auri fulgor atque argenti, quod neque tegit neque vulnerat. In ipsa hostium acie inveniemus nostras manus; agnoscent Britanni suam caussam, recordabuntur Galli priorem libertatem, deserent illos ceteri Germani, tamquam nuper Usipii relinquerunt. Nec quicquam ultra formidinis; vacua castella, senum coloniae, inter male parentes et iniuste imperantes aegra municipia et discordantia. Hic dux, hic exercitus; illic tributa et metalla et ceterae servientium poenae, quas in aeternum perferre aut statim ulcisci in hoc campo est. Proinde ituri in aciem et maiores vestros et posteros cogitate.

XXXIII.—XXXIV. *Agricola's address to his troops. He reminds them of the courage and endurance which seven years' military service has tested, of the unique character of their achievements, of their desperate position, of their glorious end, should they be overpowered, in these remote and unexplored regions. The enemy, he suggests, has stood his ground rather under the influence of panic than of steady deliberate bravery.*

XXXIII. Excepere orationem alacres, ut barbaris moris, cantu fremituque et clamoribus dissonis. Iamque agmina, et armorum fulgores audentissimi cuiusque procursu; simul instruebatur acies, quum Agricola, quamquam laetum et vix munimentis coërcitum militem accendendum adhuc ratus, ita disseruit:

Octavus annus est, commilitones, ex quo virtute et auspiciis imperii Romani, fide atque opera vestra

Britanniam vicistis. Tot expeditionibus, tot proeliis, seu fortitudine adversus hostes seu patientia ac labore paene adversus ipsam rerum naturam opus fuit, neque me militum neque vos ducis poenituit. Ergo egressi, ego veterum legatorum, vos priorum exercituum terminos, finem Britanniae non fama nec rumore, sed castris et armis tenemus. Inventa Britannia et subacta. Equidem saepe in agmine, quum vos paludes montesve et flumina fatigarent, fortissimi cuiusque voces audiebam: quando dabitur hostis, quando acies? Veniunt, e latebris suis extrusi, et vota virtusque in aperto, omniaque prona victoribus, atque eadem victis adversa. Nam ut superasse tantum itineris, silvas evasisse, transisse aestuaria pulchrum ac decorum in frontem, ita fugientibus periculosissima, quae hodie prosperrima sunt. Neque enim nobis aut locorum eadem notitia aut commeatuum eadem abundantia, sed manus et arma, et in his omnia. Quod ad me attinet, iam pridem mihi decretum est neque exercitus neque ducis terga tuta esse. Proinde et honesta mors turpi vita potior, et incolumitas ac decus eodem loco sita sunt; nec inglorium fuerit in ipso terrarum ac naturae fine cecidisse.

XXXIV. Si novae gentes atque ignota acies constitisset, aliorum exercituum exemplis vos hortarer; nunc vestra decora recensete, vestros oculos interrogate. Hi sunt, quos proximo anno unam legionem furto noctis aggressos clamore debellastis; hi ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi, ideoque tam diu superstites. Quomodo silvas saltusque penetrantibus fortissimum quodque animal contra ruere,—pavida et inertia ipso agminis sono pelluntur,—sic acerrimi Britannorum iam pridem ceciderunt, reliquus est numerus ignavorum

et metuentium. Quos quod tandem invenistis, non restiterunt, sed deprehensi sunt; novissimae res et extremo metu corpora defixere aciem in his vestigiis, in quibus pulchram et spectabilem victoriam ederetis. Transigite cum expeditionibus, imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem, approbate rei publicae nunquam exercitui imputari potuisse aut moras belli aut caussas rebellandi.

XXXV.—XXXIX. *The order of battle. Desperate courage of the Britons. Their complete defeat. Loss on both sides. Terrible scenes on the battle-field. Expedition of the Roman fleet. Agricola returns southwards. Effect on Domitian of the news of Agricola's successes.*

XXXV. Et alloquente adhuc Agricola militum ardor eminebat, et finem orationis ingens alacritas consecuta est, statimque ad arma discursum. Instinctos ruentesque ita disposuit, ut peditum auxilia, quae octo milium erant, mediam aciem firmarent, equitum tria milia cornibus affunderentur. Legiones pro vallo stetere, ingens victoriae decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellandi, et auxilium, si pellerentur. Britannorum acies in speciem simul ac terrorem editioribus locis constiterat ita, ut primum agmen aequo, ceteri per acclive iugum connexi velut insurgerent; media campi covinnarius eques strepitu ac discursu complebat. Tum Agricola superante hostium multitudine veritus, ne in frontem simul et latera suorum pugnaretur, diductis ordinibus, quamquam porrectior acies futura erat, et arcessendas plerique legiones admonebant, promptior in spem et firmus adversis dimisso equo pedes ante vexilla constitit.

XXXVI. Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur, simulque constantia simul arte Britanni ingentibus

gladiis et brevibus cetris missilia nostrorum vitare vel excutere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere, donec Agricola Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent; quod et ipsis vetustate militiae exercitatum et hostibus inhabile, parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus. Nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum et in aperto pugnam non tolerabant. Igitur ut Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora foedare, et stratis, qui in aequo astiterant, erigere in colles aciem coepere, ceterae cohortes aemulatione et impetu connisae proximos quosque caedere; ac plerique semineces aut integri festinatione victoriae relinquebantur. Interim equitum turmae fugere, covinnarii peditum se proelio miscuere, et quamquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen hostium agminibus et inaequalibus locis haerebant; minimeque equestris ea iam pugnae facies erat, quum aegre clivo instantes simul equorum corporibus impellerentur; ac saepe vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos aut obvios incursabant.

XXXVII. Et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnae expertes summa collium insederant et paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernebant, degredi paulatim et circumire terga vincentium coeperant, ni id ipsum veritus Agricola quattuor equitum alas, ad subita belli retentas, venientibus opposuisset, quantoque ferocius accucurrerant, tanto acrius pulsos in fugam disiecisset. Ita consilium Britannorum in ipsos versum, transvectaeque praecepto ducis a fronte pugnantium alae aversam hostium aciem invasere. Tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum; sequi, vulne-

rare, capere, atque eosdem, oblatis aliis, trucidare. Iam hostium, prout cuique ingenium erat, catervae armatorum paucioribus terga praestare, quidam inermes ultro ruere ac se morti offerre; passim arma et corpora et laceri artus et cruenta humus, et aliquando etiam victis ira virtusque. Postquam silvis appropinquaverunt, collecti primos sequentium, incautos et locorum ignaros, circumveniebant. Quod ni frequens ubique Agricola validas et expeditas cohortes indaginis modo, et, sicubi artiora erant, partem equitum dimissis equis, simul rariores silvas equitem persultare iussisset, acceptum aliquod vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret. Ceterum ubi compositos firmis ordinibus sequi rursus videre, in fugam versi non agminibus, ut prius, nec alius alium respectantes; rari et vitabundi invicem longinqua atque avia petiere. Finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit. Caesa hostium ad decem milia; nostrorum trecenti sexaginta cecidere, in quis Aulus Atticus præfectus cohortis, iuvenili ardore et ferocia equi hostibus illatus.

XXXVIII. Et nox quidem gaudio praedaque laeta victoribus. Britanni palantes mixtoque virorum mulierumque ploratu trahere vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere domos ac per iram ultro incendere; eligere latebras et statim relinquere, miscere invicem consilia aliqua, deinde separare, aliquando frangi aspectu pignorum suorum, saepius concitari; satisque constabat saevisse quosdam in coniuges ac liberos, tamquam misererentur. Proximus dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit; vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvius. Quibus in omnem partem dimissis, ubi incerta fugae vestigia neque usquam conglobari hostes compertum,

et exacta iam aestate spargi bellum nequibat, in fines Borestorum exercitum deducit. Ibi acceptis obsidibus, praefecto classis circumvehi Britanniam praecipit. Datae ad id vires, et praecesserat terror. Ipse peditem atque equites lento itinere, quo novarum gentium animi ipsa transitus mora terrerentur, in hibernis locavit; et simul classis secunda tempestate ac fama Trutulensem portum tenuit, unde proximo Britanniae latere lecto omni redierat.

XXXIX. Hunc rerum cursum, quamquam nulla verborum iactantia epistolis Agricolae auctum, ut Domitiano moris erat, fronte laetus, pectore anxius excepit. Inerat conscientia derisui fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triumphum, emptis per commercia, quorum habitus et crines in captivorum speciem formarentur; at nunc veram magnamque victoriam tot milibus hostium caesis ingenti fama celebrari. Id sibi maxime formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra principis attolli; frustra studia fori et civilium artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriam alius occuparet; et cetera utcumque facilius dissimulari, ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem esse. Talibus curis exercitus, quodque saevae cogitationis indicium erat, secreto suo satiatus, optimum in praesentia statuit reponere odium, donec impetus famae et favor exercitus languesceret. Nam etiamtum Agricola Britanniam obtinebat.

XL.—XLVI. A.D. 84.—A.D. 93. *Recall of Agricola. His cold reception by the Emperor. His growing popularity and consequent danger from the Emperor's jealousy. He declines a Proconsulate. His death; its suspicious circumstances; why opportune and to be desired. Concluding reflexions on Agricola.*

XL. Igitur triumphalia ornamenta et illustris statuae honorem, et quicquid pro triumpho datur, multo verborum honore cumulata, decerni in senatu iubet, addique insuper opinionem Syriam provinciam Agricolae destinari, vacuam tum morte Atilii Rufi consularis et maioribus reservatam. Credidere plerique libertum ex secretioribus ministeriis missum ad Agricolam codicillos, quibus ei Syria dabatur, tulisse, cum praecepto, ut, si in Britannia foret, traderentur; eumque libertum in ipso freto oceani obvium Agricolae, ne appellato quidem eo ad Domitianum remeasse, sive verum istud, sive ex ingenio principis fictum ac compositum est. Tradiderat interim Agricola successori suo provinciam quietam tutamque. Ac ne notabilis celebritate et frequentia occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio noctu in urbem, noctu in palatium, ita ut praeceptum erat, venit, exceptusque brevi osculo et nullo sermone turbae servientium immistus est. Ceterum, ut militare nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus auxit, cultu modicus, sermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus, adeo uti plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem aestimare mos est, viso aspectoque Agricola quaererent famam, pauci interpretarentur.

XLI. Crebro per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus est. Causa periculi non crimen ullum aut querela laesi cuiusquam, sed infensus virtutibus princeps et gloria viri ac pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes. Et ea insecuta sunt rei publicae tempora, quae sileri Agricolam non sinerent; tot exercitus in Moesia Daciaque et Germania et Pannonia temeritate aut per ignaviam du-

cum amissi, tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti; nec iam de limite imperii et ripa, sed de hibernis legionum et possessione dubitatum. Ita cum damna damnis continuarentur, atque omnis annus funeribus et cladibus insigniretur, poscebatur ore vulgi dux Agricola, comparantibus cunctis vigorem et constantiam et expertum bellis animum cum inertia et formidine ceterorum. Quibus sermonibus satis constat Domitiani quoque aures verberatas, dum optimus quisque libertorum amore et fide, pessimi malignitate et livore pronum deterioribus principem exstimulabant. Sic Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum in ipsam gloriam praeceps agebatur.

XLII. Aderat iam annus, quo proconsulatum Asiae et Africae sortiretur, et occiso Civica nuper nec Agricolae consilium deerat nec Domitiano exemplum. Accessere quidam cogitationum principis periti, qui iturusne esset in provinciam ultro Agricolam interrogarent. Ac primo occultius quietem et otium laudare, mox operam suam in approbanda excusatione offerre; postremo non iam obscuri suadentes simul terrentesque pertraxere ad Domitianum. Qui paratus simulatione, in arrogantiam compositus et audiit preces excusantis, et quum annuisset, agi sibi gratias passus est, nec erubuit beneficii invidia. Salarium tamen, proconsulari solitum offerri et quibusdam a se ipso concessum, Agricolae non dedit, sive offensus non petitum, sive ex conscientia, ne, quod vetuerat, videretur emisse. Proprium humani ingenii est odisse, quem laeseris; Domitiani vero natura, praeceps in iram, et quo obscurior eo irrevocabilior, moderatione tamen prudentiaque Agricolae

leniebatur, quia non contumacia neque inani iactatione libertatis famam fatumque provocabat. Sciant, quibus moris est illicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor assint, eo laudis excedere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum rei publicae usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.

XLIII. Finis vitae eius nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, extraneis etiam ignotisque non sine cura fuit. Vulgus quoque et hic aliud agens populus et ventitavere ad domum et per fora et circulos locuti sunt, nec quisquam audita morte Agricolae aut laetatus est, aut statim oblitus. Et augebat miserationem constans rumor veneno interceptum. Nobis nihil comperti affirmare ausim. Ceterum per omnem valetudinem eius, crebrius quam ex more principatus per nuntios visentis, et libertorum primi et medicorum intimi venere, sive cura illud sive inquisitio erat. Supremo quidem die momenta ipsa deficientis per dispositos cursores nuntiata constabat, nullo credente sic accelerari, quae tristis audiret. Speciem tamen doloris animo vultuque prae se tulit, securus iam odii, et qui facilius dissimularet gaudium quam metum. Satis constabat lecto testamento Agricolae, quo coheredem optimae uxori et piissimae filiae Domitianum scripsit, laetatum eum velut honore iudicioque. Tam caeca et corrupta mens assiduis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi heredem nisi malum principem.

XLIV. Natus erat Agricola Gaio Caesare tertium consule Idibus Iuniis; excessit quarto et quinquagesimo anno, decimo Kalendas Septembres Collega Priscoque consulibus. Quod si habitum quoque eius

posteri noscere velint, decentior quam sublimior fuit; nihil metus in vultu; gratia oris supererat. Bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter. Et ipse quidem, quamquam medio in spatio integrae aetatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam, longissimum aevum peregit; quippe et vera bona, quae in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat, et consulari ac triumphalibus ornamentis praedito quid aliud astruere fortuna poterat? Opibus nimiis non gaudebat, speciosae contigerant. Filia atque uxore superstitibus potest videri etiam beatus incolumi dignitate, florente fama, salvis affinitatibus et amicitiis futura effugisse. Nam sicuti durare in hanc beatissimi seculi lucem ac principem Traianum videre quondam augurio votisque apud nostras aures ominabatur, ita festinatae mortis grande solatium tulit evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus non iam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu rem publicam exhausit.

XLV. Non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam et clausum armis senatum, et eadem strage tot consularium caedes, tot nobilissimarum feminarum exilia et fugas. Una adhuc victoria Carus Metius censebatur, et intra Albanam arcem sententia Messalini strepebat, et Massa Baebius tum reus erat. Mox nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus, nos Maurici Rusticique visus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit. Nero tamen subtraxit oculos suos, iussitque scelera, non spectavit; praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat videre et aspici, quum suspiria nostra subscriberentur, quum denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret saevus ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat.

Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitae tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis. Ut perhibent, qui interfuerunt novissimis sermonibus tuis, constans et libens fatum excepisti, tamquam pro virili portione innocentiam principi donares. Sed mihi filiaeque eius praeter acerbitatem parentis erepti auget maestitiam, quod assidere valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiari vultu complexuque non contigit. Excepissemus certe mandata vocesque, quas penitus animo figeremus. Noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus; nobis tum longae absentiae condicione ante quadriennium amissus est. Omnia sine dubio, optime parentum, assidente amantissima uxore superfuere honori tuo; paucioribus tamen lacrimis compositus es, et novissima in luce desideravere aliquid oculi tui.

XLVI. Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore extinguuntur magnae animae, placide quiescas, nosque, domum tuam, ab infirmo desiderio et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri neque plangi fas est. Admiratione te potius quam temporalibus laudibus, et, si natura suppeditet, aemulatione decoremus. Is verus honos, ea coniunctissimi cuiusque pietas. Id filiae quoque uxorique praeceperim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque eius secum revolvant, formamque ac figuram animi magis quam corporis complectantur; non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus, quae marmore aut aere finguntur; sed ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis aeterna, quam tenere et exprimere non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis. Quicquid ex Agricola amavimus,

quicquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est in animis hominum, in aeternitate temporum, fama rerum. Nam multos veterum velut inglorios et ignobiles oblivio obruit; Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit.

NOTES.

CHAPTER I.

1. **Antiquitus usitatum.]** *Usitatum* is in attribution to the noun-infinitive tradere, tradere being the object of the verb omisit.

2. **Quamquam.]** The word is commonly used to introduce a distinct clause; 'quamvis' is generally employed to qualify a single word.

3. **Incuriosa suorum.]** 'Neglectful of its own sons,' not 'glories.' Comp. *Ann.* II. 88, vetera extollimus, recentium *incuriosi;* also Hor. *C.* III. 24, 31—2, virtutem incolumem, odimus, sublatam ex oculis quaerimus *invidi.*

4. **Supergressa est.]** 'Has risen superior to;' has past into a region which invidia cannot reach. Comp. *Ann.* XIV. 54, invidia *infra* tuam magnitudinem jacet.

5. **Ignorantiam recti et invidiam.]** 'Blindness and hostility to goodness' (*C* and *B*). It is very doubtful, however, whether invidiam is to be connected with recti. The expression 'invidia recti' would scarcely be allowable. The rectum (right) which the multitude are incapable of discerning is not exactly the aspect of virtue against which invidia is felt. And yet the presence of the singular vitium in the preceding clause compels us to join the two phrases. Rectum is equivalent here to virtus. Comp. *Hist.* III. 51, exempla *recti*, and IV. 5, *recti* pervicax.

6. **Pronum magisque in aperto.]** 'Pronum' expresses the inclination of the will; 'in aperto' the favouring circumstances. Or we may take both phrases as referring to the circumstances; the path to virtue was pronus, sc. not arduus, and in aperto, sc. not impeditus.

7. **Sine gratia aut ambitione.]** 'Without partiality or self-seeking.' 'Gratia' expresses the bias felt by a writer possibly towards unworthy persons; 'ambitio' the unprincipled desire for advancement which would betray him into flattery.

8. **Conscientiae.]** Comp. the use of the word in ch. 2, *conscientiam* generis humani, and 42, sive ex *conscientia*, ne quod vetuerat videretur emisse. 'Bonae *conscientiae* pretium' is the feeling that they had acted rightly.

9. **Ipsi.]** 'Ipsorum' would be more strictly grammatical, but would clash unpleasantly with 'morum' later on in the sentence. The nominative 'ipsi' is borrowed from what would be the equivalent conditional clause, 'Si suam ipsi vitam narrarent.' Comp. Sallust, *Jug.* 18, exercitus, amisso duce, ac passim *multis sibi quisque* imperium *petentibus*, brevi dilabitur.

10. **Citra fidem.]** That which falls short of (citra) or goes beyond (ultra) belief (fides) does not meet with credit. Comp. *Germ.* 16, *citra* speciem = falling short of beauty. For the subject of autobiography generally comp. Cic. *Epist. ad Fam.* v. 12, where the writer says that if his friend Lucceius cannot write about him, he must write about himself, and would have good precedents in doing so, and continues thus: Sed quod te non fugit, haec sunt in hoc genere vitia; et verecundius ipsi de sese scribant necesse est si quid est laudandum, et praetereant si quid reprehendendum est. Accedit etiam ut minor sit fides, minor auctoritas, etc.

11. **At nunc narraturo...tempora.]** Comp. *Hist.* I. 1, Ambitionem scriptoris facile averseris, livor et detrectatio pronis auribus accipiuntur. Tacitus feels that he might rely on the acceptance which satire and invective always meet with, and need not, had these, and not praise, been his theme, have asked for indulgence. The use of the perfect 'fuit' may be best expressed by such a paraphrase as 'Before I begin to relate I have found it necessary, etc.' The 'tempora' are the times of Domitian. For 'incusaturus' Ritter reads 'incursaturus.' He refers the 'nunc' to Domitian's days, makes 'venia' equivalent to 'leave,' and supposes 'incursaturus' to mean 'likely to offend.' Tacitus thus is made to say that he would not have asked for a permission which would have been likely to offend a *régime* (tempora) that was hostile to virtue. 'Fuit' would then be equivalent to 'fuisset.' For the expression 'infesta virtutibus' comp. Cic. *Orat. ad Brut.* 10. Hoc sum aggressus, statim Catone absoluto, quem nunquam attigissem, tempora timens *inimica virtuti*; a curious parallel to the sentiment of this chapter.

CHAPTER II.

1. **Legimus.]** Most probably this means 'we read,' or 'it is recorded in history.' But it may be opposed to 'vidimus,' and imply that Tacitus was himself absent and heard only of these occurrences. Kritz refers it to the *Acta Diurna*, and would understand by it, 'it was positively recorded (so evil were the

times) in official documents' (as we might say in the *Gazette*). This seems a far-fetched explanation, and the passage which he quotes from Dion Cassius (LXVII. 11) tells against it, as it states that in his later years Domitian forbad the names of his victims to be inscribed in the *acta*.

2. **Triumviris.]** These were the 'triumviri capitales,' who combined some of the duties of our police magistrates and our sheriffs.

3. **Comitio ac foro.]** The comitium was part of the forum. A certain solemnity is given to the sentence by the use of the two words. Comp. the use of Romani Quirites.

4. **Scilicet.]** The word is used ironically. 'They fancied, forsooth.'

5. **Conscientiam.]** 'The approving knowledge.' It was hoped that, all records of these actions being destroyed, mankind could never express its approval of them. This is a step towards the meaning which our word 'conscience' has now reached.

6. **Arbitrabantur.]** Sc. Domitian and his satellites.

7. **Expulsis insuper, &c.]** Comp. Plin. *Epp.* III. 11, quum essent *philosophi ab urbe summoti*.

8. **Omni bona arte, &c.]** Comp. Plin. *Panegyr.* 47, quum sibi vitiorum omnium conscius princeps inimicas vitiis artes non odio magis quam reverentia relegaret.

9. **Ultimum.]** Sc. the last point that could be reached, 'the extreme.'

10. **Adempto per inquisitiones, &c.]** By 'inquisitiones' is meant the espionage of the informer, which made men afraid either to speak their own thoughts or to listen to the thoughts of others.

CHAPTER III.

1. **Nerva Caesar.]** This passage marks the date of this work, or, at least, of these prefatory chapters, as being between the adoption of Trajan by Nerva (whence the name *Nerva* Trajanus) and Nerva's death. In *Hist.* I. 1, we read of Divus Nerva. Nerva adopted Trajan towards the end of A.D. 97, and died Jan. 27 in the following year.

2. **Principatum.]** 'Principatus' is the form of government which puts a 'Princeps' (in the case of Rome it was a 'Princeps Senatus') at the head of the state. Comp. *Hist.* I. 1, *principatum* Divi Nervae, where, as here, there may be some allusion to the specially *civil* character of Nerva's rule.

3. **Temporum.]** This is the reading of the MSS., which Ritter alters into *imperii,* in order to complete the parallel between this and the passage quoted above, in which we have *imperium* Trajani. Comp. however, *Hist.* I. 1, rara *temporum* felicitate.

4. **Securitas publica.]** The personified Fortune of the state. The figure of a goddess bearing this name is found on coins of the Antonine period.

5. **Nec spem modo ac votum, etc.]** 'Has not only *our* hopes and good wishes' (*C* and *B*). This rendering has the advantage of giving a meaning to 'assumpserit,' which comprehends both of its objects 'spem ac votum,' and 'ipsius voti fiduciam et robur.' But the hopes and good wishes may be those of the 'Securitas publica' for herself. We must then supply out of 'assumpserit' some such notion as 'conceperit,' and render 'has only conceived hopes, &c. but secured' ('assumpserit') &c.

6. **Ipsius voti.]** 'Of the wish itself,' *i. e.* of the thing wished for, *fiduciam et robur*, possibly an hendiadys for 'strong assurance;' or it may be rendered 'the certainty and substance.'

7. **Robur.]** 'Substance.' It is used somewhat similarly for 'the heart' or 'the best part,' as in '*robur* militum.' Cic. *Epist. ad Fam.* x. 33.

8. **Ingenia studiaque.]** 'Genius and its pursuits' (*C* and *B*).

9. **Quindecim annos.]** The fifteen years of Domitian's reign, A.D. 81—96.

10. **Quid, si...non tamen.]** The connection is 'in spite of these losses, the removal of our best men, and the injury suffered by ourselves, yet we shall not regret to have told, &c.'

11. **Promptissimus quisque.]** 'The most energetic,' 'the most ready (promptus) for what had to be done.' Comp. Sall. *Cat.* 7, ingenium *in promptu* habet.

12. **Nostri superstites.]** Sc. surviving our own powers. The meaning is, 'only a few of us are left, and we are not what we were.'

13. **Juvenes ad senectutem.]** Tacitus includes himself in this class. See on this subject his Life prefixed to this edition.

14. **Servitutis.]** An obvious correction of the reading of the MSS. which is 'senectutis.'

15. **Non tamen pigebit, etc.]** This must be taken to refer to the *Historiae,* on which Tacitus was already engaged.

16. **Interim.**] 'Meanwhile,' *i. e.* till the more important work is executed.

17. **Honori Agricolae, &c.**] The writer's is not now, so to speak, a political object, but it is to do honour to a good man. He thus returns to the subject announced in the first chapter.

18. **Professione pietatis.**] So. on the strength of its shewing filial regard.'

CHAPTER IV.

1. **Forojuliensium colonia.**] Now Fréjus, about 25 miles S.W. of Nice. It was named after its founder C. Julius Caesar.

2. **Caesaris.**] This reading seems preferable to 'Caesarum.' Both grandfathers were probably Procurators under Augustus, the father having been made a Senator by Tiberius.

3. **Quae equestris nobilitas est.**] There is some difficulty about these words. Wex considers them to be spurious on the ground that really distinguished equites, such as are called primores equitum (*Hist.* I. 4) and equites dignitate senatoria (*Ann.* XVI. 17), looked down upon the office of Procurator. In support of this view he quotes the latter passage which seems to imply that Mela, who was an eques dignitate Senatoria, was thought to have acted strangely when he accepted a Procuratorship for the sake of making a speedy fortune. Kritz, on the other hand, affirms that the office was bestowed *only* on the more distinguished members of the equestrian order. If the words are genuine they must mean that the circumstance of having one or both grandfathers a Procurator constituted equestrian nobility. The term 'nobilis' was opposed to 'novus homo,' and meant strictly a man whose father or ancestor had risen to a curule magistracy. The dignity of a Procuratorship would constitute a corresponding 'nobilitas' among the equites.

4. **Fuit.**] This is the conjecture for 'Julii,' the reading of the MSS.

5. **Meritus.**] 'Earned.' There is an irony in the expression very characteristic of Tacitus.

6. **In hujus sinu...educatur.**] 'Brought up by her side with fond affection' (*C* and *B*); 'in sinu' means that his mother's personal care was bestowed upon him. Comp. *Dial. de Orat.* 28, filius, ex casta parente natus, non in cella emptae nutricis sed *gremio ac sinu matris* educabatur. The strictly classical usage of 'indulgentia' is in its favourable sense, but Quintilian I. 2 employs it in the other, 'mollis illa educatio quam *indulgentiam* vocamus.'

7. **Peccantium.]** 'Peccare' denotes here 'sins of licentiousness,' as commonly in the Roman poets; comp. Hor. *C.* III. xix. 20, *peccare* docentes historias.

8. **Sedem ac magistram.]** 'The scene and guide' (*C* and *B*). The place is said, as, by a common metaphor, Oxford or Cambridge might be said, to have guided his studies.

9. **Locum...compositum.]** The 'comitas' (courtesy or refinement) prevented the rudeness which might have attached otherwise to the 'parsimonia.' For 'parsimonia' comp. *Ann.* III. 55, novi homines, e municipiis et coloniis atque etiam provinciis in senatum adsumpti, *domesticam parsimoniam* intulerunt. For the character of Massilia comp. Cic. *pro Flacco*, 26, neque te, Massilia, praetereo..... Cujus ego civitatis disciplinam non solum Graeciae sed haud scio an cunctis gentibus anteponendam jure dicam, etc., and *Ann.* IV. 44, where we are told that Augustus banished Lucius Antonius to Massilia, ubi specie studiorum nomen exilii tegeretur.

10. **Acrius hausisse.]** The meaning seems to be that Agricola had conceived and would have continued to indulge this passion, had not his mother checked it. Comp. for the elliptical construction, ch. 37, Britanni degredi...*coeperant, ni* Agricola quatuor equitum alas venientibus opposuisset; *i. e.* the Britons had begun to descend *and would have continued to do so* had not Agricola so acted. Orelli takes 'acrius' as an adjective agreeing with 'studium.' Perhaps it is better to consider it an adverb qualifying 'hausisse.'

11. **Prudentia matris.]** Comp. Suet. *Nero*, 52, a philosophia eum mater avertit monens imperaturo contrariam esse.

12. **Scilicet.]** 'It was the case of.'

13. **Speciem.]** Species may have its common meaning of 'beauty;' or it may have its philosophical sense of 'ideal' (*ἰδέα*), as in Cic. *Orat. ad Brut.* 5, insidebat in ejus mente *species* eloquentiae, quam cernebat animo, re ipsa non videbat.

14. **Vehementius quam caute.]** The classical usage would be 'vehementius quam cautius.' Tacitus generally follows this, but sometimes has that of the text, as *Hist.* I. 83, Tumultus proximi initium pietas vestra *acrius quam considerate* excitavit.

15. **Mox mitigavit......aetas.]** '(Maturer) reason and (advancing) age mellowed his temper.'

16. **Modum.]** Aristotle's *τὸ μέσον*. Comp. Hor. *Sat.* I. i. 106, Est *modus* in rebus, and *Ep.* I. vi. 15, Insani sapiens nomen ferat, aequus iniqui, Ultra quam satis est virtutem si petat ipsam.

CHAPTER V.

1. **Prima castrorum rudimenta.]** 'His military apprenticeship' (*C* and *B*). 'Castra' is used for 'military service,' as in ch. 16, nullis *castrorum* experimentis.

2. **Approbavit.]** Sc. so served as to satisfy.

3. **Suetonio Paullino.]** For Tacitus' opinion of this general comp. *Hist.* II. 25, cunctator natura, &c., and II. 31, nemo illa tempestate rei militaris callidior habebatur.

4. **Contubernio aestimaret.]** 'Contubernio aestimare' is to form a judgment of character by the opportunities of close companionship. The practice may be compared to the relation in which in our service an aide-de-camp stands to his general officer. Comp. Sall. *Jug.* 64, in *contubernio* patris militabat, *Hist.* I. 23, *contubernales* appellando, where Otho wishes to make his military audience feel that there is a tie of intimacy between himself and them.

5. **Neque Agricola......rettulit.]** The general meaning is, that Agricola did not use the facilities afforded by his rank either to procure enjoyment or escape from duty. His rank (titulus) with one disposed to indulgence (expressed by licenter) would have given opportunities for pleasure (voluptates). On the other hand, had he been idly disposed (expressed by segniter), his inexperience (inscitia), *i. e.* the fact that he was of little use, would have made it easy to get leave of absence (commeatus). 'Rettulit' may be rendered by 'employed with a view to,' &c.; 'referre ad aliquid' being equivalent to our expression 'to refer to an end;' comp. Plin. *Epp.* I. 22, nihil ad ostentationem, omnia ad conscientiam *refert.* For 'commeatus' comp. *Ann.* XV. 10, reliquas legiones promiscuis *commeatibus* infirmaverat.

6. **Nihil appetere in jactationem.]** 'To attempt nothing for display' (*C* and *B*); or more exactly, perhaps, 'to seek for no service with a view to display;' 'appetere' being opposed to 'recusare.'

7. **Anxius et intentus.]** 'Careful and vigilant' (*C* and *B*); or 'careful and energetic.' He was full of thought before the time of action, and when the time was come wholly occupied with what he was doing. 'Intentus' gives the idea of the full tension of energy.

8. **Excitatior.]** This is the conjecture of Buchner, which we have followed Kritz in adopting instead of 'exercitatior.' It means 'more excited,' and would seem the natural expression of Tacitus in speaking of the native tribes; *exercitatior* would apply rather to the Roman province.

9. **Trucidati veterani.]** Comp. ch. 16, where Boadicea's attack on Camalodunum is described. Some veterans appear to have been settled in this colony. It was, in fact, the only real *colonia* in Britain, but the word is used loosely of important towns; comp. note on *aegra municipia*, ch. 32.

10. **Intersepti.]** Armies would be said to be 'intersepti' when they were prevented from joining the main body; comp. *Hist.* III. 53, *Intersepta* Germanorum Rhaetorumque auxilia. We have followed the reading of the MSS. though perhaps *intercepti*, 'cut off' or 'surprised,' gives a sense agreeing better with the description of the revolt.

11. **Cessit in ducem.]** 'Fell to the share of the general.'

12. **Temporibus.]** It is best to take this as a dative depending on ingrata. Kritz considers it to be an ablative, though he quotes ch. 31, 'virtus subjectorum *ingrata imperantibus*.'

13. **Quibus sinistra...interpretatio.]** Kritz would supply 'ejus,' *i. e.* 'militaris gloriae,' and render in which there is, in the case of eminent men, a sinister interpretation put on military glory. This seems far-fetched and disproved by the position of 'sinistra.' It is better to join the word to 'erga eminentes.'

CHAPTER VI.

1. **Hinc.]** Sc. 'from or after these services.'

2. **Natalibus.]** 'Lineage,' a post-Augustan use of the word.

3. **Decus.]** 'Distinction.' The word here means the reflected lustre that comes to a man from great connections.

4. **Per mutuam caritatem.]** Orelli takes 'per' to signify time, as if 'in continuous mutual affection' was meant. It seems better to take it as causal. Their affection was the cause of their singular harmony.

5. **Nisi quod......laus.]** 'However, the good wife deserves the greater praise' (*C* and *B*). 'Nisi quod' is Tacitus' comment on the praise which he has been bestowing on Agricola in the previous sentence. He guards himself from being supposed to say that the husband and wife deserve equal commendation. In his view the good wife deserves more.

6. **Sors Quaesturae.]** The Quaestors were appointed, and *then* drew lots for their destinations.

7. **Salvius Titianus.]** He was the elder brother of M. Otho, afterwards Emperor. Comp. *Hist.* I. 75, 77.

8. **Mutuam dissimulationem.]** 'A mutual concealment of guilt' (*C* and *B*). Comp. *Hist.* I. 72, *vices impunitatis,* and Plin. *Epp.* IX. 13, Senatus severus in ceteros senatoribus solis *dissimulatione quasi mutua* parceret.

9. **Subsidium.]** This possibly refers to the advantage which a candidate derived from having children. Comp. *Ann.* II. 51, plerique nitebantur ut *numerus liberorum in candidatis praepolleret.* This would be to carry out the provisions of the lex Papia Poppaea. We prefer to give it a more general signification.

10. **Sublatum.]** 'Born,' a phrase derived from the custom by which a Roman father took up (sustulit) the child whom he acknowledged, and wished to rear.

11. **Brevi amisit.]** This does not necessarily mean what Ritter understands by it, that the son died before the daughter was born. In that case we should rather have expected 'amiserat.' The daughter was a 'subsidium,' as increasing his family, and when he lost his son became a 'solatium.'

12. **Quibus inertia......fuit.]** Comp. Tacitus' account of Galba, *Hist.* I. 49, metus temporum obtentui fuit, ut quod *segnitia erat sapientia* vocaretur. In Agricola's case the 'segnitia' was of course assumed.

13. **Tenor et silentium.]** 'Consistent quietude' (*C* and *B*); 'tenor' is the correction of the MS. reading 'certior.'

14. **Neque enim jurisdictio obvenerat.]** There were twelve or more praetors, two of whom only, the praetor urbanus and the praetor peregrinus, had judicial functions. Agricola did not happen to hold either office.

15. **Ludos et inania honoris ... duxit.]** 'The games and the pageantry of his office he ordered according to the mean' (*C* and *B*). It is possible that 'ducere' may be equivalent to 'edere,' with special reference to the procession, the notion of which would be included in the word 'ludi,' and which would be expressed by the phrase '*ducere* pompam.' It seems better, however, to connect 'duxit' closely with 'medio,' as if Tacitus meant to say 'he conducted them along the middle course.' Ritter considers it to be equivalent to 'arbitratus est,' but to make out this view he has to adopt the violent course of substituting for 'medio rationis' Lipsius' conjecture of moderationis.

16. **Famae propior.]** Sc. rather gaining distinction from them than otherwise. Though the exhibition was not prodigally ostentatious, there was enough splendour about it to attract admiration. Tacitus, it will be remembered, was himself prætor, and in that capacity presided over the Ludi Saeculares exhibited by Domitian, A.D. 88. See *Ann.* XI. 11, where he mentions this of himself.

17. **Electus a Galba.]** For an account of a similar measure of Galba's comp. *Hist.* I. 20, where we hear of the appointment of commissioners charged with the duty of recovering some of the prodigal bounties of Nero.

18. **Sensisset.]** The force of the pluperfect may be thus explained. He so ordered things that when his office was discharged it might be said that the State had received no injury (or, it may mean, had contracted no guilt), except from the irremediable wrongs which Nero had inflicted. Comp. Plin. *Paneg.* 40, 'Idem effecisti ne malos principes *habuissemus*.' Under Trajan's rule the evils of former misrule had ceased to exist. By a bold figure Rome—so entirely had she recovered—might be said, not even to have had bad Emperors.

CHAPTER VII.

1. **Nam classis Othoniana, etc.]** For the account of these events see *Hist.* II. 12, 13. Tacitus would probably have heard the details which he there gives from his father-in-law.

2. **Licenter.]** 'For purposes of plunder.'

3. **Intemelios.]** Now Vintimiglia, about twelve miles E. of Monaco.

4. **Quae causa caedis fuerat.]** We should rather expect 'quod.' But the meaning is that whatever of her moveable inherited property she had on the spot was plundered, and that it was this that had invited the crime.

5. **Solemnia pietatis.]** 'The solemn duties of filial affection.' The funeral would have been performed hastily, but some of the ceremonies could be repeated with more solemnity. Comp. Cic. *pro Cluent.* 9, where we are told of a mother, who finding that her son was dead, and his corpse already burnt, repeated the funeral rites (de integro funus jam sepulto filio fecit).

6. **Affectati a Vespasiano imperii.]** This event took place in the beginning of July, A.D. 69; see *Hist.* II. 79.

7. **Deprehensus.]** 'Overtaken.'

Mucianus.] Comp. *Hist.* IV. 11, 'Muciamus urbem ingressus cuncta simul in se traxit.' For the character of Vespasian's chief lieutenant see *Hist.* II. 5.

8. **Ex paterna fortuna, etc.]** 'From his father's elevation seeking merely to practise (usurpare) licentiousness.' Comp. *Hist.* IV. 2, 'stupris et adulteriis filium Principis agebat.'

9. **Juvene admodum Domitiano.]** Comp. *Hist.* III. 70, where Flavius Sabinus speaks of him as filium Vespasiani *vix puberem.* He was in his eighteenth year.

10. **Vicesimae legioni.]** This was one of the legions stationed in Britain. Comp. *Hist.* I. 60. For the feeling of the troops about Vespasian, comp. *Hist.* III. 44.

11. **Decessor.]** Sc. Roscius Coelius.

12. **Legatis consularibus.]** These were the chief officers of the province. Each legion had its own legatus *praetorius*.

13. **Nimia.]** 'Too strong.' Comp. Vell. *Paterc.* II. 32, 'esse Cn. Pompeium *nimium* jam liberae reipublicae.'

14. **Successor simul et ultor.]** For a similar conjunction of words comp. *Hist.* I. 40, scelus, cujus *ultor est quisquis successit.*

CHAPTER VIII.

1. **Vettius Bolanus.]** Compare his character as described in ch. 26.

2. **Feroci provincia dignum est.]** The present 'est' is used either because the statement is meant to apply to any province, or because Britain still at the time of writing merited the same epithet. 'Esset' and 'erat' have been conjectured. For the epithet 'ferox' (high-spirited) comp. ch. 11, plus *ferociae* Britanni praeferunt.

3. **Vim.]** 'Energy,' rather than 'military strength,' as Kritz makes it to be.

4. **Ne incresceret.]** 'That he might not grow too great.'

5. **Consularem.]** Sc. 'legatum.'

6. **Ex eventu.]** On the strength of the result.

7. **In suam famam.]** 'With a view to his own fame.' Comp. ch. 5, 'nihil appetere *in jactationem*.'

8. **Ad auctorem et ducem.]** The meaning of 'auctor' is illustrated in *Germ.* 14, where a chieftain's comrades are said sua fortia facta gloriae ejus assignare.

9. **Extra invidiam.]** Like the Greek expression ἐκτὸς ποδ' ἔχειν. Comp. *Hist.* I. 49, 'Galbae medium ingenium, magis *extra vitia* quam cum virtutibus.'

CHAPTER IX.

1. **Revertentem.]** 'As he was returning.' It is possible that he did not return to Rome, but stopped on the way at his command in Aquitania.

2. **Inter patricios ascivit.]** Comp. for the phrase *Ann.* XI. 25, 'Iisdem diebus *in numerum patriciorum ascivit* Caesar vetustissimum quemque e senatu, etc.' The passage is worthy of note as showing the exhaustion, indicated by the new names which we meet with in Tacitus, of the old and even of the more recent Roman aristocracy.

3. **Splendidae dignitatis.]** A genitive of *quality*. For a similar construction comp. in this chapter, *egregiae spei* filiam.

4. **Administratione.]** 'From the importance of its duties.'

5. **Spe consulatus.]** Galba had passed in like manner from the government of Aquitania to the consulship. Comp. Suet. *Galba*, 6.

6. **Subtilitatem.]** Sc. the faculty of drawing nice distinctions.

7. **Secura.]** 'Summary,' sc. that has not the fear of appeals before it. 'Obtusior,' 'somewhat blunt,' sc. careless of refinements, aiming at practical rather than theoretical justice.

8. **Calliditatem.]** The word is here used in a bad sense, as Cic. *De Off.* I. 19, 'Scientia quae est remota a justitia *calliditas* potius quam sapientia est appellanda.'

9. **Quamvis inter togatos.]** That is, though acting as a judge among civilians, who would be keen to detect faults and possibly prejudiced. For this use of togatos comp. *Hist.* II. 20, *togatos* adloqueretur.

10. **Jam vero.]** 'And besides;' comp. ch. 21, *Jam vero* principum filios erudire.

11. **Divisa.]** 'Were kept distinct.' Comp. for the use of the words 'curæ,' 'remissiones,' in contrast *Dial. de Orat.* 28, ac non studia modo *curasque*, sed *remissiones* etiam.

12 **Conventus.]** 'Days of session,' when the more important trials would be taken.

13. **Persona.]** An affectation; a character artificially kept up as on the stage.

14. **Tristitiam...exuerat.]** 'He was altogether without.' Comp. *Ann.* VI. 25, Agrippina feminarum vitia *exuerat*. 'Avaritia must mean something that might coexist with the integritas and abstinentia spoken of below; as, e.g. an excess in strictness about the revenue, the fault of Galba, who is said to have been publicae pecuniae *avarus*.

15. **Referre.]** 'To mention;' comp. *Hist.* I. 30, neque enim *relatu* virtutum in comparatione Othonis opus est.

16. **Cui saepe etiam boni indulgent.]** Comp. *Hist.* IV. 16, quando etiam *sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exuitur,* and Milton, Lycidas.

Fame ....
The last infirmity of noble mind.

The sentiment seems to have been a current one among the Stoics and due originally to Plato.

17. **Collegas.]** Sc. those in command of neighbouring provinces.

18. **Procuratoribus.]** Either in other provinces or in his own. With these officers, as having special charge of the revenue, the legate might easily come into collision.

19. **Atteri.]** 'To get the worst of it,' 'to suffer some damage.'

20. **Minus triennium.]** From three to five years was the ordinary duration of a governor's term of office. Comp. Dio Cass. LII, *καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν μήτε ἔλαττον ἐτῶν τριῶν (εἰ μή τις ἀδικήσειέ τι) μὴ πλεῖον πέντε.*

21. **Statim ad spem.]** Statim conveys the idea that the expectation was immediate; grammatically it is joined to 'revocatus.'

22. **Dari.]** 'Was being offered to him;' sc. that it was understood that he was to have it after his consulship.

23. **Elegit.]** The meaning is that sometimes common report causes a man to be chosen, secures his selection.

24. **Tum.]** Ritter alters the word to *jam,* quite unnecessarily. 'Tum,' he thinks, would imply that the spes was not fulfilled. But it may well mean 'even then.'

CHAPTER X.

1. **Multis scriptoribus.]** A Dative; as in ch. 2, quum Aruleno Rustico, *etc.* Of these writers Caesar, Livy, and the elder Pliny would be the chief.

2. **In comparationem, etc.]** 'To challenge a comparison.'

3. **Perdomita est.]** Comp. *Hist.* I. 2, Britannia *perdomita* et statim missa.

4. **Ita quae, etc.]** 'So it follows that what those who wrote before this time (priores) embellished, &c.'

5. **Rerum fide.]** On the evidence of facts.

6. **Romana notitia.]** 'Roman geography.'

7. **Spatio ac coelo, etc.]** 'Spatium' means 'extent,' 'coelum,' 'geographical position,' as astronomically and scientifically determined. There is a reference to the division of the earth into zones. It seems that Tacitus (in common with other writers) believed both Spain and Germany to extend much further to the north than they actually do. On this supposition his meaning in this sentence would be that Britain lies opposite to Spain on the west, to Germany on the east, and to Gaul on the south; but that in the two former cases the distance is so considerable that the fact has to be inferred from certain considerations (expressed by the words spatio ac coelo), whereas in the case of Gaul it was a matter of ocular demonstration, Gallis etiam inspicitur. It will be remembered that Tacitus included Scandinavia in what he called Germany.

8. **Nullis contra terris.]** Comp. Caesar, *B. G.* II. 14, Tertium latus est contra septemtrionem, cui parti *nulla est objecta terra.*

9. **Oblongae scutulae, etc.]** It is not easy to see what conception Tacitus had formed of the shape of Britain. He seems to have shared the passion for discovering resemblances common to the ancient geographers. It has been doubted whether *scutula* means a 'dish,' or a mathematical figure; and, taking the later supposition, whether it signifies a rhombus, a rhomboid, or a trapezium. We incline to the latter opinion, and may imagine the southern shore to be the longest side of the trapezium. The opposite or northern boundary would be the shortest. This figure would bear some resemblance to the bipennis, if we suppose the *iron head only* of that weapon to be intended. But from this northern boundary, which one might have supposed to be the extreme limit of the country (*extremo* jam littore) there extended a vast projection, narrowing in a wedge-like shape (in cuneum). Excluding Caledonia (citra Caledoniam) the country was like a *scutula* or *bipennis.*

10. **In universum fama est transgressa.]** The MSS. favour the reading 'in universum,' which the sense seems to demand. Because this resemblance is real as to part of the island, it has been supposed to be so about the whole. 'Universis,' which Orelli reads, and which he interprets in this way, can hardly bear such a meaning. Kritz reads 'transgressis,' which he takes to mean 'among those who have crossed over [from the continent into Britain].' This strikes us as a very questionable rendering.

11. **Hanc oram.]** i.e. the wedge-like projection of northern Britain.

12. **Novissimi maris.]** The furthest sea. Comp. *Hist.* v.

2, *novissima* Libyae, sc. the farthest part of Africa towards the East.

13. **Dispecta.]** 'Seen from a distance.'

14. **Thule.]** Probably not Iceland, but Mainland, the chief of the Shetlands.

15. **Hactenus jussum.]** 'Their orders were to go so far [and no further].'

16. **Minus appetebat.]** 'Was approaching,' a frequent use of the word. We have followed the reading of Kritz who corrects the statement of Orelli about the MSS.

17. **Ne ventis quidem perinde attolli.]** 'Not *even* raised by the winds as much as other seas.'

18. **Continui maris.]** 'Sea unbroken by land.'

19. **Fluminum.]** These 'flumina' are currents of the sea, locally called 'races.'

20. **Ferre.]** The word is here used absolutely; comp. Caesar, *B. G.* III. 15, quo ventus *ferebat*.

21. **Accrescere ac resorberi.]** 'Flow and ebb.'

22. **Littore tenus.]** 'Up to the shore and no further.'

23. **Penitus.]** 'Far inland.'

24. **Inseri.]** Used in a middle sense, 'makes its way.'

CHAPTER XI.

1. **Ut inter barbaros.]** 'As might be expected among barbarians.'

2. **Parum compertum.]** Comp. ch. 10, nondum *comperta*.

3. **Habitus corporum.]** Comp. *Germ.* 4, *habitus corporum* ...idem, and ch. 5, *corporibus habitum* dedit. It may be rendered 'physical characteristics.'

4. **Ex eo.]** Sc. from the fact that they are various.

5. **Rutilae Caledoniam, etc.]** Comp. *Germ.* 4, [Germanorum] *rutilae comae, magna corpora.*

6. **Colorati.]** 'Dark-coloured,' 'sun-burnt.'

7. **Torti.]** 'Curly.'

8. **Posita contra Hispania.]** Comp. preceding chapter, on the supposed extent of Spain in a northerly direction. The Silures inhabited Wales.

9. **Proximi Gallis, etc.]** 'Those who are nearest to the Gauls also resemble them.'

10. **Procurrentibus in diversa.]** Neighbouring countries jutting out in different directions (in diversa) would approximate very closely, would occupy nearly the same *positio coeli*, and so would be subject to nearly the same climatic influences.

11. **In universum aestimanti.]** Comp. *Germ.* 6, in *universum aestimanti* plus apud peditem robur.

12. **Superstitionum persuasiones.]** Sc. 'superstitious beliefs.' The meaning is that both the same rites (sacra) and the same beliefs prevailed in Britain as in Gaul. Comp. Caes. *B. G.* VI. 13. 'Superstitio' denoted to a Roman 'any *foreign* religious belief.' The reading of the MSS. 'persuasione' (retained by Orelli) hardly admits of explanation.

13. **In deposcendis...formido.]** Comp. Caesar *B. G.* III. 16, Ut ad bella suscipienda Gallorum alacer ac promptus est animus, sic mollis ac minime resistens ad calamitatès perferendas mens eorum est.

14. **Praeferunt.]** 'Display.'

15. **Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse, etc.]** Comp. Caesar, *B. G.* passim, and Cic. *De Prov. Consul.* 13, Nemo de Republica nostra sapienter cogitavit jam inde ac principio hujus imperii, quin Galliam maxime timendam huic imperio putaret.

16. **Quales Galli fuerunt.]** Kritz takes *Galli* to be the complement not the subject of the sentence, and would translate 'such as *they* were when Gauls.' This seems unnecessary. The meaning is plain enough, if we suppose Tacitus to say—the Gauls before they were conquered were great warriors; but military spirit is incompatible with servitude. Servitude has destroyed it in the Gauls, has not yet done so with all the Britons; many of them still remain what the Gauls were.

CHAPTER XII.

1. **Et curru proeliantur.]** Tacitus' meaning is that their troops generally consisted of infantry and cavalry, the former being the stronger force (in pedite robur); and that some tribes used chariots as well. Comp. Caesar, *B. G.* IV. 24, praemisso *equitatu et essedariis*. Comp. however, ch. 36, *covinnarius eques*, where the common reading is covinnarius *et* eques.

2. **Honestior auriga, etc.]** This is the reverse of the well-known Homeric usage, and that described by Caesar as practised by the Gauls (loc. cit.).

3. **Clientes propugnant.]** The meaning is not that the cliens (θεράπων) fights *in advance* of the chariot, but that he fights *from it;* sc. performs the part of the combatant, while the chief drives.

4. **Olim regibus parebant.]** In this Tacitus is in agreement with Caesar. See Caesar, *B. G.* v. 22.

5. **Per principes.]** 'Under the action of chiefs.'

6. **Factionibus et studiis.]** 'Factiones' signify the combinations on the part of the chiefs, 'studia' the partialities in the people to which they appealed. The words are to be taken as ablatives.

7. **Trahuntur.]** Either for 'distrahuntur,' the simple word for the compound according to a common Tacitean usage; or simply meaning 'are drawn,' as having no stability of purpose.

8. **Nec aliud...consulunt.]** Comp. Ch. 29, tandem docti commune periculum concordia propulsandum.

9. **Singuli pugnant...vincuntur.]** 'They fight singly, [and therefore] are all conquered.'

10. **Foedum.]** So *Hist.* I. 18, *foedum* imbribus diem.

11. **Asperitas frigorum abest.]** Comp. Caesar, *B. G.* v. 12, Loca sunt temperatiora quam in Gallia remissioribus frigoribus.

12. **Dierum spatia...mensuram.]** Pliny, *H. N.* II. 75, says that the longest day in Britain is seventeen hours in length.

13. **Scilicet extrema...nox cadit.]** The notion on which this explanation is founded was that night was the shadow cast by the earth. Comp. Plin. *H. N.* II. 7, Neque aliud esse noctem quam *terrae umbram.* This shadow as cast by the 'extrema et plana terrarum,' 'the flat extremities of the earth' (which, of course, is conceived of as a plane surface), would reach but to a small altitude (humilis); the darkness therefore would not extend very high, and while it more or less affected the earth would wholly fail to touch the higher regions (infra coelum et sidera nox cadit).

14. **Praeter oleam, &c.]** 'If we except the olive, &c.'

15. **Patiens frugum, fecundum.]** 'Admits of their growth and bears them in abundance.' Comp. *Germ.* 5, terra frugiferarum arborum *impatiens.*

16. **Proveniunt.]** 'Shoot forth,' 'grow.'

17. **Aurum et argentum.]** Caesar mentions only iron and lead among the metals of Britain. Strabo however (IV. 5. 2) enumerates *gold* and *silver* among them.

18. **Pretium victoriae.]** Comp. *Hist.* I. 11, Inermes provinciae......*in pretium belli* cessurae erant.

19. **Liventia.]** 'Of a blueish or leaden hue.' Pliny, *H. N.* IX. 35, says that the pearls of Britain are small and discoloured

(decolores). Pearls are still found in considerable numbers in the aestuaries of some of the Scotch rivers.

20. **Expulsa.**] 'Thrown up from the sea.'

CHAPTER XIII.

1. **Ipsi Britanni.**] Sc. the inhabitants as opposed to the natural products of the island.

2. **Injuncta imperii munera.**] 'The services which the ruling power enjoins on its subjects.' To such would belong the furnishing of troops with provisions; all contributions not included in the regular tribute, forced labour, &c. Comp. Ch. 31, where some of these 'munera imperii' are specified.

3. **Si injuriae absint.**] Comp. Ch. 19, [Agricola] doctus parum profici armis si *injuriae* sequerentur.

4. **Jam domiti...serviant.**] Comp. what Galba is made to say in adopting Piso of the Romans themselves, *Hist.* I. 16, imperaturus es hominibus qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt nec totam libertatem.

5. **Igitur.**] The last sentence, describing the degree to which Britain had been brought into subjection to the Roman power, suggests a *transition* to the writer's more immediate subject, a sketch of the military operations of Rome in the island previous to the arrival of Agricola.

6. **Britanniam ingressus, &c.**] Comp. Caesar, *B. G.* IV. 23—36, V. 8—23.

7. **Potest videri.**] 'Must be regarded.'

8. **Mox bella civilia.**] Sc. the civil wars which ended in the establishment of the first and second Triumvirates.

9. **Longa oblivio...in pace.**] Comp. *Ann.* IV. 5, where, in the list of legions, no mention is made of a force in Britain. During the civil war that followed on the death of Galba, no less than three legions were stationed in the island.

10. **Consilium.**] Comp. *Ann.* I. 11, addiderat [Augustus] consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii. The word may be rendered 'policy.'

11. **Praeceptum.**] Comp. *Ann.* I. 77, neque *fas* Tiberio infringere dicta ejus; *Ann.* IV. 37, where Tiberius is represented as saying of himself, qui omnia facta dictaque ejus *vice legis* observem.

12. **Ni velox...fuissent.**] The sentence is, of course highly elliptical. He conceived designs and (would have carried them out) had he not been, &c. We prefer to read 'mobilis poenitentiae' with Orelli to the reading 'mobili' which Kritz adopts. With the latter reading the meaning is (fuisset being

supplied out of fuissent in either case), 'had he not been swift to repent or change his purpose (velox poenitentiae) from the fickleness of his disposition (mobili ingenio).' Otherwise 'velox' is joined with 'ingenio,' and 'mobilis' with 'poenitentiae.' He was at once hasty in his impulses and easily moved to change. 'Mobilis' may agree either with Caesar, the nominative of the sentence, or with 'poenitentiae.' The phrase 'commotus ingenio' (*Ann.* VI. 45) is cited as parallel to 'ingenio mobili,' but it is at least as near akin to 'velox ingenio.'

13. **Ingentes ... fuissent.]** Comp. *Germ.* 37, *ingentes G. Caesaris minae* in ludibrium versae; *Hist.* IV. 15, Gaianarum expeditionum ludibrium.

14. **Auctor iterati operis.]** The MSS. read 'auctoritate operis.' As this gives no meaning, we have followed Kritz in adopting the conjecture of Wex. 'Iteratum opus' is the work of subduing Britain anew.

15. **Vespasiano.]** Comp. *Hist.* III. 44, Illic (in Britain) secundae legioni a Claudio praepositus et bello clarus egerat.

16. **Fortunae.]** This must be the greatness of Vespasian, not the success of Claudius, as Kritz appears to think.

17. **Monstratus fatis.]** We prefer with Orelli to take 'fatis' as a *dative* than with Kritz as an *ablative*. The half paradox of the future ruler being pointed out to the destinies which decreed his fortune is very characteristic of Tacitus. Vespasian's successful career in Britain commended him, so to speak, to destiny, as one worthy of higher distinction.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. **Proxima.]** Nearest (to the coast).

2. **Colonia.]** i. e. Camulodunum.

3. **Cogidumno.]** Nothing is known of this king.

4. **Ut.]** We have followed the reading of the MSS. putting ut before vetere, as we do not see any absolute necessity for altering it.

5. **Reges.]** Kings of this kind were the Tigranes mentioned, *Ann.* XIV. 26, Sohaemus, Antiochus and Agrippa, *Hist.* II. 81, Sido and Italicus, III. 21.

6. **Aucti officii.]** 'Of having enlarged the range of his duties' of his government. A governor's 'officium' was simply to administer his province as he received it; Gallus did something more by advancing military positions (castella) beyond the limit of former conquests.

7. **Prosperas ... praesidiis.]** 'Achieved the success of subduing tribes,' &c. Understand the ablatives 'subactis nationibus' &c. as the epexegesis of 'prosperas res.' Comp. for a precisely similar construction Ch. 22, Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit *vastatis* usque ad Tanaum *nationibus.*

8. **Firmatis praesidiis.]** 'Firmare praesidia' is to place them in secure positions.

CHAPTER XV.

1. **Britanni ... accendere.]** A distinction is to be noted between 'agitare' and 'conferre.' The first denotes discussions in which *all* took part, the second, discussions and interviews of a more *private* nature. For the expression 'interpretando accendere,' comp. Livy, IV. 58, haec sua sponte *agitata* insuper tribuni plebis *accendunt.* 'Interpretando' means 'by discovering a common meaning or purpose in them.'

2. **Ex facili.]** A Graecism. Comp. ex insperato, ex aperto, ex affluenti &c. &c. Graecisms were characteristic of the silver age.

3. **Singulos...reges.]** Sc. the 'legatus,' before the organization of the province was completed, and before the procurators were introduced.

4. **E quibus legatus ... saeviret.]** The 'legatus' had the military 'imperium' which involved the 'jus gladii' and the power of inflicting capital punishment. The procurator could not take judicial cognisance of illegal acts and pass sentence on them, but it was his business to assess fines and see that they were paid into the 'fiscus.' The subjunctive (saeviret) is used to imply the *purpose* with which the legatus and procurator were set over the Britons; this, at least, was the *interpretatio* which the Britons themselves put on the matter. The rapacity of a procurator (Catus Decianus) is mentioned, *Ann.* XIV. 32, as the occasion of an outbreak in Britain.

5. **Alterius manum ... miscere.]** The first 'alterius' refers to the legatus, the second, to the procurator. The 'manus' of the legatus were officers and military attendants selected by him for the performance of special and confidential services. It nearly answers to our 'staff,' and it would chiefly consist of soldiers of a centurion's rank. It is alluded to Ch. 19, nec ex commendatione aut precibus *centurionem, milites ascire,* sed optimum quemque fidelissimum putare, in which passage the *milites* are what is here termed 'manus.' The 'servi' of the procurator, would be persons employed in collecting fines and debts, and were probably not soldiers. The passage may be thus

rendered: 'The attendants and centurions of the one, the slaves of the other mingle violence and insult.' Comp. *Ann.* XIV. 31, where we are told that the kingdom of Prasatagus, king of the Iceni, was plundered by *centurions*, his house, by *slaves*. Orelli reads 'manus.' The centurions were, as it were, the 'hands' of the 'legatus.' So Cic. *In Verr.* II. 10, comites illi tui delecti *manus* erant tuae.

6. **In praelio &c. &c.]** The meaning is, in war it is the weak who suffer, whereas now matters are reversed, and we, the stronger, and braver, suffer at the hands of the coward, &c. &c.

7. **Ab ignavis ... imbellibus.]** Referring especially to the 'veterani' quartered in Camulodunum. Comp. the expression 'senum coloniae' in the speech of Calgacus, Ch. 32. These 'veterani' as we learn from *Ann.* XIV. 31, had thrust the people out of their houses and driven them from their estates.

8. **Quantulum.]** 'What a mere fraction.'

9. **Sic.]** Sc. by reckoning up and uniting their strength.

10. **Germanias.]** The plural is used for rhetorical effect, though the truth of the assertion was strictly limited to a portion of Lower Germany. The allusion is to the defeat and destruction of the army of Varus.

11. **Illis.]** Sc. the Romans.

12. **Plus impetus.]** 'More fury' (*C* and *B*).

13. **In ejusmodi consiliis.]** 'In such deliberations,' or we may perhaps translate 'in such designs,' i. e. where such designs are in question.

CHAPTER XVI.

The events related in this Chapter occurred A. D. 61. They are related at greater length, *Ann.* XIV. 31—38.

1. **Instincti.]** The word has a *middle* sense. 'Rousing themselves, &c.'

2. **Consectati.]** The notion of the word is that of a searching and vindictive pursuit.

3. **Coloniam.]** Camulodunum.

4. **In barbaris.]** Sc. usual among barbarians.

5. **Ira et victoria.]** 'The rage of victory.'

6. **Veteri patientiae restituit.]** 'Brought back to its old obedience.' 'Restituit,' in our reading of the passage must be taken for 'restituisset.'

7. **Tenentibus arma plerisque, &c.]** '*Though* many held arms,' &c. This clause is parenthetical.

8. **Propius ... timor.]** 'Propius' (the reading of the MSS. for which Wex and Kritz read *proprius*) seems defensible, though no doubt 'propior' is what we should have expected. It must be construed with 'agitabat.' 'Fear from the legatus (sc. fear of which he was the source) was more urgently harassing them,' &c. &c. Punishment to those who were conscious of the guilt of rebellion seemed more imminent than to others.

9. **Ni quamquam, &c.]** This is the reading of Orelli and Wex. The passage is difficult and confused. The objection to the reading *ne* quamquam, &c. is that it obliges us either to take the words *egregius cetera* as expressing the *Britons'* opinion about Paulinus, which Tacitus would hardly have cared to mention, or else, as very obscurely and clumsily interposed. We have, in fact, but a choice of difficulties, and the reading adopted appears to present the least. Reading 'ni' we should give the meaning thus; 'He would have brought the province back, &c. had he not been disposed thus to act.'

10. **Ut suae cujusque injuriae ultor.]** 'As one who avenged every wrong as if it was his own.'

11. **Durius.]** 'Too harshly.'

12. **Petronius Turpilianus.]** He was legatus from A.D. 62—64. See *Ann.* XIV. 39, *Hist.* I. 6, where his murder at the beginning of Galba's reign is recorded.

13. **Compositis prioribus.]** Comp. *Ann.* I. 45, *compositis* praesentibus. *Priora* refers to the late outbreak of the Britons and its suppression by Paulinus. There would still be much lingering irritation and discontent in Britain; this, Petronius allayed, and thus effectually restored peace and tranquillity.

14. **Trebellio Maximo.]** Comp. *Hist.* I. 60. Trebellius was governor of Britain from A.D. 64 to 69.

15. **Nullis castrorum experimentis.]** 'A man with no actual experience of campaigns.'

16. **Curandi.]** 'Curare' is used both of military commands and of civil administration. Comp. *Ann.* XI. 22, duo additi (quaestores) qui Romae *curarent.*

17. **Ignoscere vitiis blandientibus.]** 'To shew indulgence to vices as they became attractive.' It is best, we think, to take 'vitiis' as a dative. Comp. Ch. 21, paullatim discessum ad *delenimenta vitiorum.*

18. **Civilium armorum.]** The civil wars which followed the death of Nero, A. D. 69, (1) between Galba and Otho, (2) between Otho and Vitellius, (3) between Vitellius and Vespasian.

19. **Discordia laboratum.]** 'Troubles arose from mutiny.' See Ch. 7, and *Hist.* I. 60, which passages shew that the allusion is to the quarrels between Trebellius, and Coelius who commanded the 20th legion. Tacitus, however, says *Hist.* I. 9, non sane aliae legiones per omnes civilium bellorum motus innocentius egerunt.

20. **Quum assuetus ... lasciviret.]** 'When a soldiery accustomed to campaigns were demoralised by indolence.'

21. **Praecario praefuit.]** 'Governed on sufferance.'

22. **Vettius Bolanus.]** See *Hist.* II. 65, 97. Bolanus was sent A.D. 70 to Britain by Vitellius, and under him Agricola commanded the 20th legion. Comp. Ch. 8.

23. **Agitavit Britanniam disciplina.]** Sc. he undertook no campaigns, which would have required the enforcement of strict discipline among the troops.

24. **Petulantia.]** 'Insubordination,' such as would lead to wanton outrages.

25. **Innocens.]** The word especially denotes, 'free from the guilt of rapacity.' In this respect Bolanus was a contrast to Trebellius who is said (*Hist.* I. 60) to have been per avaritiam ac sorde contemptus exercitui invisusque.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. **Recuperavit.]** 'Restored to unity.' There is a reference in the word to the civil wars which had distracted the world, and also, it would seem, to Vespasian's superiority over his predecessors, which almost gave him a right to empire. He seemed, as it were, to recover what was his own.

2. **Aut victoria ... bello.]** Sc. either conquered or ravaged. If he was not successful everywhere he fought everywhere; nothing escaped his reach (amplexus).

3. **Et Cerialis ... licebat.]** Orelli's correction *sed* sustinuit, &c. (which we have adopted) is the simplest, though there is a strong probability that there is a considerable lacuna after obruisset. We incline to think that by *alterius* successoris Frontinus is meant, and not Agricola, as Wex insists, on the ground that 'alter' cannot be used for 'alius.' He says that 'alter successor' can mean only secundus a Ceriali, that is, Agricola. It seems too much to assert that in no case can alter approach

in meaning to alius, and it certainly is unlikely that Tacitus would even suggest a comparison between Cerialis and Agricola, as by this interpretation he is made to do. For the expression 'curam famamque obruisset' comp. Ch. 46, multos veterum oblivio *obruit*. 'Obruisset' (would have completely extinguished) is a stronger word than obscurasset, by which it has been explained. By 'molem' we are to understand the difficulty of the work imposed on Frontinus, who had to complete what Cerialis had so ably begun. Comp. its use *Ann.* I. 45, haud minor *moles* supererat ob ferociam quintae et vicesimae legionis; *Hist.* III. 46, ne externa *moles* utrimque ingrueret. There remains some difficulty about the words 'quantum licebat.' Their collocation seems to require that they should be construed with 'vir magnus,' though Wex and Kritz take them with 'sustinuit molem,' understanding them to mean that Frontinus, so far as the difficulties of his position permitted, carried out the arduous task which devolved on him. It is possible however that Tacitus, although in this very chapter he has admitted that under Vespasian there were 'magni duces,' may be hinting at that Emperor's well-known parsimony which would have the effect of discouraging costly and difficult enterprises, or that he may wish to imply generally that an imperial *régime* is sure to set limits on greatness. Julius Frontinus had been praetor urbanus. He was probably at this time a praetorian legatus in Britain, and seems to have commanded a legion in a different part of the country from that where the operations of Cerialis had been conducted. He was the author of two works which have come down to us, one on military stratagems, the other, on aqueducts. Pliny (*Ep.* IV. 8, 3), speaks of him in high terms.

4. **Eluctatus.]** Comp. *Hist.* III. 59, vix quieto agmine nives *eluctantibus*, &c. &c.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. **Media aestate.]** A. D. 78, the tenth year of Vespasian's reign.

2. **Velut omissa expeditione.]** Sc. 'under the impression that campaigns were over.'

3. **Ad securitatem ...... verterentur.]** The MSS. fluctuate between *verterentur* and *uterentur*, which latter Orelli reads, construing it with the ablative 'omissa expeditione.' But 'verti ad aliquid' is a well known phrase, and suits the present passage. Comp. *Hist.* V. 11, Romani ad oppugnandum *versi*, *Ann.* XIV. 38, omni aetate ad bellum *versa*. So here *verterentur* has a middle sense. There is no zeugma, since *verti* ad securitatem, *verti* ad occasionem, are both legitimate expressions. 'Securitatem,' 'carelessness:' 'occasionem,' 'an opportunity for attack.'

4. **Alam in finibus suis agentem.]** 'A detachment of auxiliary cavalry quartered in their territory.' Agere often has this meaning in Tacitus. Comp. *Hist.* I. 74, eas, quae Lugduni *agebant*, copias.

5. **Obtriverat.]** The word implies *sudden* and *complete* destruction.

6. **Erecta provincia.]** 'The province was stirred into a commotion.'

7. **Quibus bellum volentibus erat.]** 'Those who wished for war.' A well-known Graecism.

8. **Quanquam, &c.]** The clause introduced by quanquam ends at videbatur.

9. **Numeri.]** Sc. troops not regularly enrolled in the legion or forming part of it. The word, in the time of the Emperors, had come in fact to designate the various forces of infantry and cavalry which could not be strictly included among the legionaries, though they were attached to them. See *Hist.* I. 6, multi ad hoc *numeri*, I. 87, in *numeros* legionis. The term occurs from time to time in Pliny and Suetonius.

10. **Praesumpta ...... quies.]** 'Though repose for that year had been counted on by the soldiers.' 'Praesumere' 'to enjoy by anticipation.' Comp. *Ann.* XI. 7, quem illum tanta superbia esse ut aeternitatem famae spe *praesumat?* Pliny (*Epp.* IV. 15) uses in this sense the derived noun 'praesumptio.' Rerum quas assequi cupias *praesumptio* ipsa jucunda est.

11. **Tarda et contraria.]** These words are in apposition with transvecta aestas, sparsi......numeri, praesumpta......quies, three sources of delay just mentioned. 'Tarda,' 'causing delay.'

12. **Custodiri suspecta.]** 'That suspected points should be watched,' sc. tribes imperfectly conquered, or likely to revolt.

13. **Vexillis.]** By 'vexilla' are meant what above are termed 'numeri.' They must not be confounded with the 'vexillarii' or veterans. Tacitus uses the word elsewhere with this meaning. Comp. *Ann.* II. 78, Piso...... *vexillum* tironum in Syriam euntium intercipit, *Hist.* I. 70, Germanorum *vexillis*, II. 11, equitum *vexilla*. In this case, they would appear, from the mention of *auxilia* immediately afterwards, to have been *Roman* troops, though the term, as it is clear from *Hist.* I. 70, was not restricted to such troops.

14. **Erexit aciem.]** 'Led his troops up the hill.' Comp. Ch. 36, *erigere* in colles aciem.

15. **Instandum famae.]** 'That he must follow up the prestige of success.' Comp. *Hist.* III. 52, *instandum* coeptis; V. 15, *instare* fortunae.

16. **Prout prima cessissent.]** 'In proportion as his first attempts had succeeded.' Comp. *Hist.* II. 20, gnarus, ut initia belli provenissent, famam in cetera fore. 'Prima' here = initia belli.

17. **Ut in dubiis consiliis.]** 'As happens in imperfectly matured plans.'

18. **Ratio et constantia, &c.]** 'The forethought and decision,' &c.

19. **Quibus nota vada.]** Agricola's auxiliaries (among whom, as appears from Ch. 36, were Batavians) could hardly have known these particular seas, so that by 'vada' it seems best to understand 'shallows, fords' generally. The Batavians were famous swimmers, as we learn *Hist.* IV. 12, *Ann.* II. 8. We must suppose that the channel separating Anglesea from the main land must have undergone a great change since that period. If we comp. *Ann.* XIV. 29, we see that the water was shallow. Flat-bottomed boats were provided. The cavalry forded part of the way and had occasion to swim only in the deeper places (altiores inter undas).

20. **Quod tempus...transigunt.]** 'A time which others pass in idle show and a round of ceremonies.' 'Officia' denote the various compliments and honours paid by the provincials to a new governor on his arrival among them. In the word 'ambitus' there is the notion of courting these distinctions.

21. **Expeditionem...continuisse.]** (He did not) 'give the name of campaign or conquest to the having kept the conquered in subjection.'

22. **Laureatis.]** Sc. litteris. The noun is rarely omitted.

23. **Aestimantibus...tacuisset.]** 'In the eyes of those who reckoned what expectations he must have for the future, to have been silent about such great deeds.' It seems best (with Kritz) to take aestimantibus as a dative.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. **Animorum provinciae prudens.]** 'Well acquainted with the temper of the province.' 'Prudens' here = gnarus. Comp, *Hist.* II. 25, Celsus doli *prudens* repressit suos. Possibly in animorum there is the notion of high spirit, a meaning often found in the plural of animus.

2. **Injuriae.]** This is the correction of Puteolanus for 'incuriae,' which the MSS. have, and it is the reading of most recent editors. Incuriae seems hardly defensible. The plural of

incuria is nowhere found, nor does the idea of 'official *negligence*' suit the context so well as that of oppression and injustice.

3. **Domum suam.]** Sc. his servants and subordinates generally.

4. **Nihil...publicae rei.]** 'He transacted no public business through freedmen and slaves.' Understand 'agere.'

5. **Non studiis...ascire.]** 'He did not select his centurions or attendant soldiers according to his own personal inclinations or the recommendations or requests (of others).' 'Ascire' (due to Puteolanus for the reading of the MSS. nescire, which Orelli retains and endeavours to explain) seems to be unquestionably the right reading and is now generally adopted. By 'centurionem, milites' we are to understand the same as by 'centuriones, manum (legati),' Ch. 15, where see note. 'Ascire,' expressing as it does deliberate choice and selection, is the word required in such a connexion. Under the head of 'attendant soldiers' would be included lictors, apparitors, clerks, secretaries, purveyors of corn, &c. &c. These persons were comprehended under the common designation '*cohors accensorum*,' and being released from all strictly military duties were termed 'beneficiarii.'

6. **Non omnia exsequi.]** 'He did not punish in every case.'

7. **Severitatem commodare.]** This is something like a zeugma, though we find a similar use of '*commodare*,' Ovid, *Amores*, I. 8, 86, *Commodat* illusis numina surda Venus.

8. **Nec poena...esse.]** Construe 'poena' as an ablative depending on 'contentus.' This, though a sort of zeugma, seems better than joining it, as Kritz does, with 'commodare.'

9. **Aequalitate...munerum.]** *Munera* denote the various burdens imposed by the Romans on the Britons. These fell under two heads, (1) contributions of corn, (2) the payment of a money-tribute. The first would necessarily be vexatious in districts where corn was scarce. For this difficulty Agricola found a remedy by requiring in such cases as an equivalent payment the average price which corn fetched in parts where it was more plentiful. This was done by means of an assessment, 'aestimatio frumenti,' as it was termed, a phrase we meet with Cic. *Verr.* III. 82, where the whole matter is explained.

10. **In quaestum.]** 'With a view to gain.'

11. **Namque per ludibrium...cogebantur.]** We adhere to the reading of the MSS. and of Orelli, which Kritz also retains. We understand the passage as describing one of the

cunning methods of extortion to which Roman governors had been in the habit of resorting in districts scantily furnished with corn. Instead of accepting a money-equivalent for the 'frumentum imperatum,' they compelled the Britons to purchase corn from the Roman granaries up to the required amount. Of course they could fix their price, and had the purchasers at their mercy. The corn would thus be often bought at an excessive price, and when bought it still remained in the Roman granaries, so that the whole affair was a 'ludibrium.' Hence the Britons are said (1) 'emere ultro frumenta,' that is, to buy corn needlessly and under very provoking circumstances, and (2) 'ludere pretio,' a phrase which has been variously interpreted, but which seems to mean, 'to be going through a farce with the price,' inasmuch as they were paying dear for what after all the seller kept in his possession. Wex's conjecture 'luere' for 'ludere' which he explains by 'luere imperata' ignores the ordinary usage of 'luere' which requires to be followed by an accusative of the object. In Livy, XXX. 37, the reading ('pecunia luere') which he quotes is doubtful. Kritz reads 'recludere,' and explains the passage as meaning that the Britons had to buy their corn out of the granaries and then shut it up (i. e. see it shut up) again in them. But this use of 'recludere' is very questionable.

12. **Devortia itinerum...deferrent.]** 'Places lying out of the regular roads and distant parts of the country were appointed, in order that states, with winter camps close to them, might have to convey corn into remote and out of the way districts.' Here we have another method of Roman extortion, applicable to the *corn-growing* districts. The inhabitants, finding it troublesome and costly to carry their corn to a distance, would be glad to commute the required contribution for a money payment fixed by the governor. This device is specially mentioned in the Verrine Speeches, III. 82, Instituerunt semper ad ultima ac difficillima loca apportandum frumentum imperare ubi vecturae difficultate ad quam vellent aestimationem pervenirent.

13. **Quod omnibus in promptu erat.]** Sc. 'what under fair conditions would have been easy for all.' Understand by 'quod' the furnishing of the 'frumentum imperatum,' which under an equitable system would have been by no means burdensome where corn was plentiful.

CHAPTER XX.

1. **Haec.]** Sc. these abuses.

2. **Egregiam......circumdedit.]** 'Invested peace with great glory.' Comp. *Hist.* IV. 11, qui principatus *inanem ei famam circumdarent?* Dial. 37, hanc illi *famam circumdederunt.*

3. **Intolerantia.**] Cicero, *Cluent.* XL. 112, couples this word with 'superbia.' It may be rendered 'harshness.'

4. **Multus in agmine.**] Sc. he continually marched on foot with his troops. 'Agmen,' 'a column in marching order.' Comp. Sallust's description of Sulla, *Jug.* 96, in *agmine* atque ad vigilias *multus* adesse.

5. **Modestiam.**] 'Obedience,' 'subordination.' The word is often applied to obedience to military discipline.

6. **Disjectos.**] 'Stragglers.' Opposed to 'modesti' (the well-disciplined).

7. **Nihil interim...quominus.**] Comp. for the construction Ch. 27, nihil ex arrogantia remittere *quominus* juventutem armarent.

8. **Irritamenta.**] A stronger and more expressive word than 'incitamenta' or 'illecebrae.' Comp. the Greek ἐρεθίσματα. *Irritationes* is similarly used *Germ.* 19, nullis conviviorum *irritationibus* corruptae.

9. **Ex aequo egerant.**] 'Had been independent.' Comp. *Hist.* IV. 64, aut *ex aequo agetis* aut aliis imperabitis.

10. **Ut.**] *Here* equivalent to quanta.

11. **Nova pars.**] 'Nova,' sc. recently conquered. Understand after 'nova pars,' praesidiis castellisque circumdata fuit.

CHAPTER XXI.

1. **Sequens hiems.**] A.D. 79—80, the first of which was the year of Vespasian's death.

2. **Bello faciles.**] The choice seems to lie between the reading 'bello,' which we follow with Kritz (the MSS. have 'in bello'), and 'in bella' which Orelli adopts. '*Facilis*' is joined with the dative, *Ann.* II. 27, juvenem improvidum et *facilem inanibus*, and *Hist.* II. 17, longa pax fregerat *faciles occupantibus*. In both of these passages, however, it seems to have the passive sense of 'easily acted on' rather than the active meaning of 'promptly and readily turning to a thing.'

3. **Publice.**] Sc. by grants from the public treasury.

4. **Ingenia...anteferre.**] 'He showed a preference for the natural powers of the Britons over the industry of the Gauls.' (*C.* and *B.*) Orelli gives a different, and, we think, very doubtful meaning to 'anteferre,' and understands the passage thus,

'he trained the natural powers of the Britons up to a higher point than had been reached by the industry of the Gauls.' He thus makes 'anteferre' equivalent to 'promovere,' a use of the word to which we can find no parallel.

5. **Delenimenta vitiorum.]** 'Attractive accompaniments of vice.'

6. **Apud imperitos.]** 'Imperiti' are here persons who looked at the matter merely from the surface.

7. **Humanitas.]** 'Civilisation.'

8. **Pars servitutis.]** Comp. for a like sentiment *Hist.* IV. 64, Instituta cultumque patrium resumite, abruptis voluptatibus, quibus Romani plus adversus subjectos quam armis valent.

CHAPTER XXII.

1. **Tertius...annus.]** A.D. 80.

2. **Tanaum.]** This is the reading of the MSS., for which Orelli and Ritter read *Taus*, after Puteolanus from a marginal gloss in one of the MSS., and understand by it the frith of Tay. We think it unlikely that Agricola had as yet advanced so far north. His campaign of this year, we have little doubt, was confined to the country *south* of Bodotria, the frith of Forth, which he does not appear to have crossed till his 6th year (see Ch. 25). Nor again can we think that by the Taus is meant the Tweed, to which the word 'aestuarium' could be hardly applied. Agricola too by this time had probably pushed into Caledonia. Perhaps, as suggested by Wex, we are to understand the mouth of the North Tyne at Dunbar. The fact that '*Tan*' is a Keltic name for running water confirms the reading 'Tanaus.'

3. **Conflictatum saevis tempestatibus.]** Comp. *Hist.* III. 59, sed foeda hieme per transitum Apennini *conflictatus* exercitus. 'Shattered' is perhaps the best English equivalent to 'conflictatus.'

4. **Periti.]** 'Men of experience.'

5. **Pactione.]** Sc. 'capitulation.'

6. **Annuis copiis.]** 'With provisions for the year.' Comp. Ch. 25, mixti *copiis* et laetitia.

7. **Sibi quisque praesidio.]** Understand by 'quisque' every commander of a 'castellum.'

8. **Hibernis eventibus.]** 'By successes in winter.' Comp. Ch. 8, majoribus copiis ex *eventu* praefecit, 'eventus' being used for a prosperous result.

9. **Nec...avidus intercepit.]** 'He never in a covetous spirit appropriated to himself,' &c. &c.

10. **Seu centurio seu praefectus.]** The *centurion* was a legionary officer, the '*praefectus*' one connected with the auxiliaries (*cohortes alaeque*).

11. **Incorruptum.]** 'Impartial.'

12. **Injucundus.]** Horace (*Sat.* I. 3, 85) uses insuavis in the same sense. 'Injucundus' is not quite so strong a word as durus would have been.

13. **Nihil supererat secretum ut, &c.]** This, the reading of the MSS. (for which secretum et silentium were commonly substituted) is retained by Kritz, and may, we think, well mean that there was no reserve, nothing hidden, or as it were lurking behind, in the displeasure of Agricola. His anger was at once and fully expressed; none was kept back to burst out on some future occasion. 'Secretum' has here much the same meaning as 'reconditum,' a word which Tacitus uses in a very similar connexion, *Ann.* I. 69, accendebat haec...Sejanus, peritia morum Tiberii, odia in longum jaciens, quae *reconderet*, auctaque promeret. It may be that a contrast is suggested between Agricola and Domitian who is described, Ch. 42, as quo obscurior, eo implacabilior.

14. **Offendere quam odisse.]** Sc. to give open offence rather than to cherish hatred.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. **Quarta aestas.]** A.D. 81.

2. **Obtinendis quae percucurrerat.]** 'In securing the places through which he had rapidly moved.'

3. **Clota et Bodotria.]** Sc. the friths of Clyde and Forth.

4. **Diversi maris.]** 'Of an opposite sea.' 'Diversus' here = contrarius.

5. **Revectae.]** Sc. carried back from the sea into the land. The notion is that the two estuaries are carried by the strength of the tides out of their natural channel and forced to a great distance (per immensum) inland.

6. **Omnis propior sinus.]** Sc. the country to the south of Clota and Bodotria, nearer (propior) to the Roman province. 'sinus' may denote a tract of country with a winding and indented shore. Comp. *Germ.* 1, latos *sinus*, and see note 5.

7. **Velut in aliam insulam.]** Sc. Caledonia to the north of Clota and Bodotria, which all but divided it from its southern portion.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. **Quinto expeditionum anno.]** A.D. 82.

2. **Nave prima.]** This is susceptible of the following meanings; (1) the *first* Roman vessel which had visited those parts; (2) the first vessel which ventured to sea in the early spring; (3) the *foremost* vessel of the fleet; (4) the *first* vessel which Agricola had as yet had occasion to employ. The choice seems to us to lie between (1) and (3), and on the whole we prefer (1), both grammatically as the simplest, and as best suiting the context. It is far from probable that Agricola quitted Britain for the winter and returned in the spring, as has been supposed. By 'transgressus' we understand that he crossed Clota. Wex, seeing the obscurity of the passage, would read, navi in proxima, and observes that *navi*, as distinguished from 'nave,' means simply 'by sea,' and is in fact used adverbially, as *vesperi*, *luci*, *&c.*

3. **In spem.]** Sc. with the prospect of some advantage. The preposition 'in' is similarly used, Ch. 8, nec Agricola umquam *in* suam famam gestis exsultavit.

4. **Medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam.]** Comp. Ch. 10, Britannia in occidentem *Hispaniae* obtenditur.

5. **Gallico mari opportuna.]** 'Easily accessible from the seas of Gaul.'

6. **Valentissimam imperii partem.]** Sc. Britain, Gaul, Spain and Upper and Lower Germany. The special reference in 'valentissimam' is to the *military* resources of these countries. We find, *Hist.* III. 53, Gaul and Spain described as the most powerful (*valentissimam*) part of the world, and the Britons, Ch. 12, are spoken of as *validissimae* gentes.

7. **Magnis invicem usibus miscuerit.]** 'Has united with great mutual advantages.' The subjunctive seems meant to express the writer's own notion of Agricola's views.

8. **Cultusque.]** Sc. 'the general mode of life.'

9. **Haud multum...cogniti.]** We prefer this reading to 'differt in melius,' which, though adopted by some recent editors, after Muretus, makes Tacitus responsible for a strange and unaccountable statement. We understand him to mean that so far as he could speak on the matter, the climate and population of

Hibernia resembled those of Britain, but that its coasts and harbours were better known than the island itself. This we take to be the meaning of *melius*. It would be absurd to suppose that it meant that the coasts of Hibernia were better known than those of Britain. Perhaps 'melius cogniti' may be rightly rendered, 'are tolerably well known.'

10. **Agricola...exceperat.]** The emperor Claudius, according to Dio, LX. 19, availed himself of a similar incident for the invasion of Britain, which he undertook at the solicitation of a refugee chief, Bericus.

11. **Ex eo.]** Sc. Agricola. Orelli strangely understands the 'regulus' mentioned above.

CHAPTER XXV.

1. **Ceterum.]** The word has a disjunctive force. This year Agricola's operations were transferred to the east coast.

2. **Sextum officii annum.]** A. D. 83, the third year of Domitian's reign.

3. **Amplexus.]** The word is to be understood in the same sense as in Ch. 17, Magnamque Brigantum partem aut victoria *amplexus* est aut bello, and denotes actual campaigns, not merely plans and designs.

4. **Infesta hostilis exercitus itinera.]** This is the reading of the best MSS. and is followed by Orelli and Kritz. By 'hostilis exercitus' we understand the Roman army, whose marches (itinera) through an enemy's country would be beset with danger (infesta). 'Infestus' often has a passive as well as an active sense.

5. **In partem virium.]** 'To form part of his force.'

6. **Egregia specie.]** 'With a remarkably imposing appearance.' Comp. a similar passage *Ann.* II. 6, naves augebantur alacritate militum in *speciem* ac terrorem.

7. **Impelleretur.]** 'Was being hurried on.'

8. **Misti copiis et laetitia.]** 'Copiae' here, as Ch. 22 (annuis copiis) and elsewhere, means 'provisions.' It is best to take 'copiis et laetitia' as a hendiadis. The meaning is that the soldiers and sailors mingled in merry gatherings over their meals.

9. **Ad manus.]** 'To force,' 'resistance.'

10. **Oppugnare.]** Construe this with 'adorti,' 'having attempted to storm,' &c.

11. **Ut provocantes.]** 'As being the challengers.'

12. **Pluribus agminibus.]** 'By several lines of march.'

13. **Superante numero et peritia, &c.]** 'By superior numbers and superior knowledge of the localities,' &c.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. **Nonam legionem ut maxime invalidam.]** The ninth legion had been all but destroyed in the rising of the Britons under Boadicea (*Ann.* XIV. 32). Its ranks, however, as we learn from *Ann.* XIV. 38, were shortly afterwards recruited with soldiers from Germany; but this may have been done very incompletely. At any rate, the Britons might well suppose the legion to have been comparatively weak.

2. **Vestigiis insecutus.]** Comp. Livy, VI. 32, quum Romanus exercitus prope *vestigiis sequeretur,* and IX. 45, pergunt hostem *vestigiis sequi.*

3. **Assultare.]** The word specially denotes the rapid movements of cavalry or light-armed troops. Comp. *Ann.* XII. 35, telis *assultantes*; XIII. 40, *assultare* ex diverso Tiridates, non usque ad ictum teli, &c.

4. **Propinqua luce.]** 'The dawn approaching.'

5. **Signa.]** Sc. the eagles of the legions, which were preceded by the cavalry and light troops.

6. **Securi pro salute.]** 'Having no fears for their safety.' Comp. *Hist.* IV. 58, Numquam apud vos verba feci aut pro vobis sollicitior aut *pro me securior.*

7. **Ultro erupere.]** 'They (the soldiers of the 9th legion) actually sallied forth to the attack.' 'Ultro' gives the notion which we express by saying 'the tables were suddenly turned.'

8. **Utroque exercitu.]** Sc. the besieged army (the 9th legion) and the army which Agricola brought up to the rescue.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. **Cujus...ferox.]** 'Emboldened by their knowledge of this, and by the fame it excited.' 'Cujus' refers to 'victoria,' or rather, perhaps, to the decisive character of their success, of which we are told in the preceding sentence.

2. **Illi modo...sapientes.]** Sc. those who, ch. 25, were described as 'ignavi specie prudentium.'

3. **Iniquissima...imputantur.]** We meet with a similar sentiment, Sallust. *Jug.* 53, in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet; adversae res etiam bonos detractant.

4. **Occasione et arte, &c.]** 'By the general's skilful use of an opportunity.' The word 'elusos' (baffled) is received into the text by Kritz, as on the whole the most plausible conjecture. It suits the passage, and it seems to be at any rate better than the 'superati' of Ritter. This, however, is a passage in which the text cannot be restored with anything like certainty. It has been attempted to emend it as follows, non virtutem, sed occasionem et artem ducis rati, which is ingenious, but hardly satisfactory.

5. **Conspirationem.]** 'A confederacy.'

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1. **Usipiorum.]** See *Germ.* c. 32. In *Ann.* I. 51 they are called Usipetes, and are mentioned with the Bructeri and Tubantes as attacking the army of Germanicus on its retreat.

2. **Per Germanias.]** Sc. the provinces of Upper and Lower Germany.

3. **Occiso centurione, &c.]** The adventures of this Usipian cohort with these particulars are related by Dio, LXVI. 20. It would appear that the cohort was a part of the force which, as we are told Ch. 24, Agricola posted in that part of Britain which looks towards Ireland.

4. **Ad tradendam disciplinam.]** 'To impart discipline.' Vegetius, in his work on the Roman army (I. 13), speaks of 'annorum doctores' and 'campi doctores,' whose business it was to instruct newly-levied troops in their various military duties.

5. **Habebantur.]** Sc. were kept in the camp. Comp. for this use of 'haberi' *Ann.* XIII. 30, praefectus remigum qui Ravennae *haberentur*.

6. **Remigante.]** Sc. 'directing the rowers.'

7. **Praevehebantur.]** For 'praetervehebantur' as *Ann.* II. 6, Rhenus...Germaniam *praevehitur*.

8. **Mox ad aquam, &c.]** Many attempts have been made on this corrupt passage, without, as far as we can see, a satisfactory result. The common reading, mox hac atque illa rapti et cum plerisque, is founded on the very doubtful conjecture of Rhenanus. The word aquam, however, appears in all the MSS. and is accordingly retained by all recent editors. Kritz (whose

reading we have followed, as perhaps closer to the MSS. than any other) has adopted with slight modifications a suggestion of Haase, and interprets 'ad aquam' to mean 'in aquatione' and utilia as equivalent to utensilia (provisions), a use of the word which he thinks is confirmed by two passages of Sallust, *Hist. Frag.* II. 50, utilia parare, and *Jug.* 86, armis aliisque utilibus naves onerat. His explanation, however, of ad aquam seems very far-fetched, and, on the whole, we fear the passage remains hopelessly corrupt. Ritter reads 'ob aquam atque utensilia separati.' Roth's reading is perhaps as good as any, ad aquam et quae usui rapienda cum plerisque, &c.

9. **Eo ad extremum inopiae.]** Construe 'inopiae' with eo. 'Ad extremum,' 'at last.'

10. **Infirmissimos...vescerentur.]** They first fed on the weakest; then were reduced to draw lots for the healthy.

11. **Primum a Suevis...sunt.]** Some were taken by the Suevi, some by the Frisii. Tacitus does not mean that there were two successive captures of the same persons.

12. **In nostram ripam.]** Sc. the western bank of the Rhine.

13. **Mutatione ementium.]** Sc. by being resold by those who bought them.

14. **Indicium tanti casus.]** 'The disclosure of such an adventure.'

CHAPTER XXIX.

1. **Initio aestatis.]** Sc. A.D. 84.

2. **Ambitiose.]** Sc. with the affectation of stoical indifference. 'Ambitiosus' denotes that a thing is done for effect. Comp. Ch. 42, *ambitiosa* morte inclaruerunt.

3. **Rursus.]** 'On the other hand.'

4. **Bellum inter remedia erat.]** 'War was one of his sources of relief.' Comp. what is said, *Ann.* IV. 8, of Tiberius after the death of his son Drusus, se fortiora solatia e complexu reipublicae petivisse.

5. **Incertum terrorem.]** 'A vague panic.' The Britons would be uncertain as to the point whence the attack would come.

6. **Expedito exercitu.]** 'With an army unencumbered by baggage.'

7. **Longa pace exploratos.**] Sc. 'tried by a long period of peace.'

8. **Grampium.**] We have retained with Orelli and Ritter the more familiar form (which has some MS. authority), instead of Graupium, which Wex and Kritz read after one of the Vatican MSS. It seems to be a case in which there is some reason for declining to adhere strictly to MSS.

9. **Legationibus et foederibus.**] These words may of course be taken as a hendiadis. They may however be meant to convey two distinct ideas—the sending envoys to conclude treaties and get help, and the reminding states with whom treaties already existed of their obligations.

10. **Cruda ac viridis senectus.**] Comp. Virg. *Aen.* VI. 304, *cruda* deo *viridisque senectus.* 'Crudus,' 'fresh,' 'full of blood.'

11. **Sua quisque decora gestantes.**] The word 'decora' seems to include spoils taken from an enemy and rewards conferred by the chieftains on their followers.

12. **Locutus fertur.**] By the word 'fertur' Tacitus implies that he is himself the author of the following speech.

CHAPTER XXX.

1. **Necessitatem nostram.**] 'Our desperate position.'

2. **Magnus mihi animus est.**] 'I have great confidence. 'Animus' is here almost equivalent to 'spes' or 'fiducia.' There seems to be a studied simplicity about the expression.

3. **Nullae ultra terrae.**] 'There are no lands beyond us.' Comp. Ch. 10, septentrionalia ejus, *nullis contra terris*, vasto atque aperto mari pulsantur.

4. **Priores pugnae.**] Sc. previous battles of other tribes with the Romans.

5. **Spem ac subsidium, &c.**] A hendiadis for spem subsidii. The meaning is, that the Britons, though unsuccessful in former battles, still had hopes of being able to fall back upon us in their last extremity. 'Former engagements, &c. continued to leave a hope of succour from our resources,' &c.

6. **Nobilissimi.**] Sc. as being a pure and unmixed people. Comp. Caesar, *B. G.* V. 15, who says that the interior of Britain was occupied by a population which described itself as autochthonous (natos in insula).

7. **Iique.]** This seems a better reading than eoque, as it is not easy to see how the nobility and greatness of a people should be the cause of their occupying the remotest regions (penetralia) of a country. It has been strangely enough suggested that there is an implied comparison between such a people and jewels and treasures which are stowed away in secret places. If 'eoque' be read, it must mean that an indigenous population was likely to linger longest in the least accessible parts of a country.

8. **Servientium litora.]** Sc. the shores of Gaul.

9. **Oculos quoque ... habebamus.]** 'We kept our very eyes unpolluted by the contagious touch of tyranny.'

10. **Sinus famae.]** We are inclined to think that this expression means the protection which the fame of their untried valour had hitherto lent them. The remoteness of their situation, and all the exaggeration to which this remoteness naturally gave rise (expressed in the clause, 'omne ignotum pro magnifico'), had hitherto saved them from attack. Now this remoteness had ceased to be (terminus Britanniae patet). Orelli takes 'famae' as a dative dependent on 'defendit.' Hitherto the remoteness of their abode (sinus) had saved them from fame, and they had been undisturbed because they had been unknown.

11. **Infestiores.]** Sc. more hostile than waves and rocks.

12. **Ambitiosi.]** Sc. eager for warlike glory. If the enemy has nothing to tempt their cupidity, they covet the glory of conquest for its own sake.

13. **Opes ... concupiscunt.]** 'Wealth and poverty they covet with equal vehemence of desire,' sc. they spare neither the rich nor poor. Comp. for a similar sentiment, Sallust, *Cat.* 11, avaritia neque copia neque inopia minuitur.

14. **Ubi solitudinem faciunt.]** 'Where they make a solitude,' &c. &c.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1. **Alibi servituri.]** Sc. to serve elsewhere in the Roman armies. The degrading word 'servire' is of course deliberately chosen. It appears however that some at least of the British levies were retained in the island. See Ch. 18, auxiliarium quibus nota vada, and Ch. 32, agnoscent Britanni suam causam.

2. **Ager atque annus.]** This reading (due to Seyffert's emendation) is adopted by Ritter and Kritz, as coming closest to the Vatican MSS. which have 'aggerat annus,' and as yielding a good sense. 'Annus' is used in the *Germ.* Ch. 14, for the yearly

produce, which is here denoted by the somewhat rhetorical expression ager atque annus, just as bona fortunaeque expresses the simple notion of pecunia. By 'frumentum' is meant the corn exacted by the Romans. Comp. Ch. 19.

3. **Silvis ac paludibus emuniendis.]** 'In clearing woods and marshes.' Comp. the expression 'munitiones viarum,' *Ann.* I. 56. The word 'emunire' implies throwing up causeways through morasses.

4. **Nata servituti.]** Comp. Sallust, *Jug.* 31, vos, Quirites, imperio *nati.*

5. **Semel veneunt.]** Boadicea is represented in Dio, LXII. 3 as saying, 'How much better would it be to be sold once for all than to be ransomed with the empty name of liberty from year to year.'

6. **Ultro...aluntur.]** Sc. slaves, so far from supplying their masters' maintenance (as we Britons have to do for the Romans) are supplied with what they want by their masters.

7. **Britannia...pascit.]** 'Britain is every day purchasing, every day supporting her own slavery.' She did the first by paying taxes, the second by supplying her masters with corn.

8. **Novi nos...petimur.]** 'We, as despicable new comers, are being marked out for destruction.' 'Novi' signifies 'new to slavery,' 'viles' those who are despicable because nothing is to be got out of them, as the next sentence implies.

9. **Neque enim arva nobis, &c.]** 'We have not, as the other Britons have, &c.' Calgacus is speaking only of Caledonia.

10. **Ferocia.]** 'High spirit.'

11. **Brigantes.]** In the account given, *Ann.* XIV. 31, of the British rising under Boadicea, the Trinobantes are mentioned, and the name of the Brigantes does not occur. It is possible that Calgacus here names them, as being one of the most powerful tribes, and closely bordering on Caledonia. All the MSS. have Brigantes. Ritter's substitution of Trinobantes seems purely arbitrary.

12. **Exurere coloniam.]** Sc. Camulodunum. Comp. Ch. 16, ipsam *coloniam* invasere ut sedem servitutis.

13. **Libertatem non in poenitentiam laturi.]** Sc. 'not about to bear our freedom so as to repent of it.' The meaning is, We do not intend, if successful, to sink into sloth (socordia) as the Brigantes did, and so to be subsequently conquered and reduced to a worse condition than that to which quiet submission

would have brought us—in which case we should have ultimately cause for regret (poenitentia) that we had successfully resisted for a while. It appears to us that the words as they stand will fairly bear this interpretation, and that there is no need of Wex's emendation, in libertatem *non* in poenitentiam arma laturi, though, of course, it makes the passage somewhat easier, and introduces the familiar phrase 'ferre arma.'

14. **Seposuerit.]** 'Has in reserve.' Comp. *Germ.* 29, in usum praeliorum *sepositi*.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1. **Nisi.]** Orelli after the MSS. nisi si. But (as Wex points out) where, as here, the word has an ironical force and suggests an absurd alternative, it is never followed by si. 'Nisi si' would imply that the alternative was possible and reasonable.

2. **Commodent.]** The MSS. have commendent, for which Puteolanus (whom nearly all modern editors follow) substituted 'commodent,' which precisely suits this passage. Comp. Livy, XXXIV. 12, quamquam vereatur ne suas vires, aliis eas *commodando*, minuat.

3. **Infirma vincla loco caritatis.]** Kritz reads 'loco' from his own conjecture. The word seems to be wanted, as fear and terror (metus ac terror) cannot well be said to be bonds of affection. The meaning clearly is, that they take the place of it.

4. **Nulla plerisque patria.]** This would necessarily be the case in an army made up of various nations whose separate existence had been destroyed by conquest.

5. **Trepidos ignorantia.]** By 'ignorantia' is meant specially ignorance of the country in which they were fighting.

6. **Circumspectantes.]** The notion of the word circumspectare is that of looking round timidly and suspiciously. This is well illustrated in Cic. *Tusc.* I. 30, 73, Itaque *dubitans, circumspectans, haesitans,* multa adversa reverens, tamquam rate in mari immenso nostra vehitur oratio.

7. **Vinctos.]** Comp. *Ann.* I. 62, eodem fato *vinctae* legiones, and *Hist.* I. 79, Sarmatae...velut *vincti* caedebantur.

8. **Nostras manus.]** Sc. troops who in heart are with us

9. **Agnoscent Britanni.]** Sc. Britons, compelled to fight as levies in the Roman army.

10. **Senum coloniae.]** Comp. Ch. 5, incensae *coloniae*.

'Senes' in allusion to the 'veterans' by whom the coloniae were usually garrisoned.

11. **Aegra municipia.**] This is in apposition with 'senum coloniae.' The word 'aegra' denotes the feebleness arising from internal discord. Comp. its use *Hist.* II. 86, movere et quatere quidquid usquam *aegrum* foret, adgrediuntur. (The Greek *νοσεῖν* is used in precisely the same way. Soph. *El.* 1070, *τὰ μὲν ἐκ δόμων νοσεῖ.*) Comp. also Claudian, *Bell. Get.* 437, vivusque color redit urbibus *aegris*. Londinium and Verulamium had the character of 'municipia,' that is, they had their own 'senatus,' and their own officers for the administration of justice. 'Municipia' appears to us on the whole a better reading than that of 'mancipia' which Wex and Kritz adopt from the margin of one of the Vatican MSS., interpreting the words to mean 'a feeble and mutinous set of slaves.' This is hardly an appropriate description of the Roman 'veterani.'

12. **In hoc campo est.**] 'Rests with this battle-field.'

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1. **Alacres.**] With enthusiasm.

2. **Ut barbaris moris.**] Comp. 39, ut Domitiano *moris erat.*

3. **Armorum......procursu.**] 'There was the gleam of arms as every boldest soldier stepped to the front.'

4. **Instruebatur acies.**] Sc. the Caledonian army.

5. **Octavus annus.**] Agricola was now entering on his 8th year in Britain.

6. **Virtute et auspiciis imperii Romani.**] The 'auspicia' from the time of Augustus, properly speaking, belonged to the Emperor. Tacitus here affects the old republican form of speech. He may naturally have shrunk from any such allusion to Domitian, as the word imperatoris would have involved. When 'ductus' and 'auspicia' are used in close connexion, the first denotes the general's conduct of a campaign, the second the emperor's supreme direction and authority. So Suet. *Oct.* 21, domuit partim *ductu*, partim *auspiciis* suis Cantabriam, Aquitaniam, &c.

7. **Tot expeditionibus, &c.**] 'In the course of so many campaigns,' &c.

8. **Finem...tenemus.**] 'We are occupying the extremity of Britain not in mere report or rumour, but with an actual camp and armed force.'

9. **Inventa Britannia.]** Sc. Britain has been thoroughly discovered.

10. **Vota virtusque in aperto.]** 'Your wishes and your bravery have free scope.' Comp. Ch. 1, pronum magisque *in aperto.*

11. **Omniaque...adversa.]** Comp. Sall. *Cat.* 58, si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta erunt; sin metu cesserimus, eadem illa *adversa* fient.

12. **In frontem.]** Sc. for an advancing army. 'Frons' denotes here the presenting a face to the enemy, and thus implies progress.

13. **Terga.]** Sc. 'retreat.'

14. **Naturae fine.]** Comp. *Germ.* c. 45, illuc usque tantum *natura,* and see note on passage.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1. **Vestra decora.]** The word 'decus' is here used in a less precise sense than that which it has Ch. 29, sua quisque *decora* gestantes. Here it means 'glorious deeds.' Livy, XXI. 43, uses it in just the same sense, Nemo vestrum est cui non idem ego virtutis spectator ac testis notata temporibus locisque referre sua possim *decora.*

2. **Unam legionem.]** Sc. the 9th legion. See Ch. 26.

3. **Furto noctis.]** Sc. an attack made under the cover of night. Curtius, IV. 13, uses the same expression, meae gloriae *furtum noctis* obstare non patiar.

4. **Clamore debellastis.]** 'You crushed with a mere shout.'

5. **Quomodo...pelluntur.]** We take this to be a general sentiment, which is the view of Orelli and Ritter. With the latter, we think it best to understand 'ruere' as equivalent to 'ruere solet,' and the following 'pelluntur' seems to favour this view. Similar instances of a sudden change of construction occur elsewhere. Comp. *Ann.* III. 26, postquam *exui* aequalitas et pro modestia et pudore ambitio et vis *incedebat*; and XII. 51, ubi *quati* uterus et viscera *vibrantur.* Curtius, III. 8, 19, has a very similar comparison: Delituisse inter angustias saltus ritu ignobilium ferarum quae strepitu praetereuntium audito silvarum latebris se occuluerunt.

6. **Numerus.]** The word is expressive of contempt, 'mere ciphers.' Comp. Hor. *Epist.* I. 2, 27, Nos *numerus* sumus et fruges consumere nati.

7. **Quos quod...restiterunt.]** 'That you have at last found them is not because they have stood their ground,' &c.

8. **Novissimae res...aciem.]** This is the reading of both the Vatican MSS. and, though harsh, is intelligible. 'Their desperate fortunes and their bodies in the extremity of panic have rivetted their line to this spot,' &c. Comp. for the use of 'novissimae' *Germ.* 24, extremo ac *novissimo* jactu. 'Defixere' vividly expresses the paralysis of terror. Kritz, in his 2nd edition, adopts the ingenious conjecture of Schoemann, novissimae res et extremus metus torpore defixere, &c.

9. **Victoriam ederetis.]** The expression 'edere victoriam' derives its meaning from the epithets attached to victoriam, and it conveys the notion of 'exhibiting on a grand scale.'

10. **Transigite cum expeditionibus.]** 'Make an end of campaigns.' 'Transigere' is a legal word, and denotes the settlement of a suit. Comp. *Germ.* 19, cum spe votoque uxoris *semel transigitur.*

11. **Imponite...diem.]** 'Crown fifty years' service with a great day.' Forty-two years, from A.D. 43 (the date of Claudius's expedition), was the precise period.

12. **Moras belli.]** Sc. carrying on war without energy, or wilfully protracting it. Comp. what is said of Vocula, *Hist.* IV. 34.

13. **Caussas rebellandi.]** This phrase would naturally mean the wrong doings of the dominant race. Comp. Ch. 19, doctus per aliena experimenta parum profici armis si injuriae sequerentur, *caussas* bellorum statuit excidere. But how was the army to shew upon a battle-field that it was guiltless of such practices? Perhaps we should understand by 'caussae' the pretexts or suggestions of possible rebellion which the carelessness of the conquerors might give, or which were the effective causes of rebellion. The soldiers were to do their work so thoroughly that there should be no strength left for rebellion.

CHAPTER XXXV.

1. **Affunderentur.]** This word (where we should have expected simply adderentur) seems intended to denote the rapid movements of cavalry.

2. **Ingens...bellandi.]** 'Bellandi,' the reading of the best MSS., must be construed with 'decus,' and 'victoriae' seems best taken as the dative. If the legions sustained no loss, this would add to the victory the great glory of fighting without shedding the blood of Roman soldiers.

3. **Si pellerentur.]** Sc. 'if the auxiliaries were repulsed.'

4. **In speciem ac terrorem.]** Sc. with a view to an imposing appearance and to cause panic. 'Species' is used in a similar way, Ch. 25, [classis]...sequebatur egregia *specie*.

5. **Connexi.]** The MSS. fluctuate between connexi and convexi. Connexi (the reading of Ritter and Kritz) implies that the line of the Britons extended without a break up the slope of the hill. Convexi, applied to this sloping formation, might be harsh, but Kritz surely goes too far in pronouncing it absurd. The word, however, does not seem to be much wanted.

6. **Media campi.]** Sc. the space between the two armies.

7. **Covinnarius eques.]** So the best MSS. and the most recent editors. The phrase must be simply equivalent to 'covinnarii,' which word occurs in the following chapter. The word 'covinnus,' according to Pomponius Mela (III. 6), denoted a chariot armed with scythes. The Britons, it seemed, borrowed it from the Belgae. Caesar, *B. G.* IV. 24 (where he describes this mode of fighting), says nothing about the chariots having scythes, nor does he use the words 'covinnus,' 'covinnarii.' He speaks of 'essedarii' (by which he meant the same thing), and he draws a distinction between them and regular cavalry (equitatus), which he says the Britons also employed. Tacitus makes no such direct allusion to cavalry; he merely tells us, Ch. 12, that some tribes fought with the chariot, among whom, it appears, were the Caledonians.

8. **Porrectior.]** 'Too extended.'

9. **Promptior in spem.]** Comp. *Ann.* XV. 25, *promptus* in pavorem. *Ib.* 61, *promptum* in adulationes ingenium.

10. **Firmus adversis.]** 'Resolute under adverse circumstances.'

11. **Ante vexilla.]** By 'vexilla' is meant the same as in Ch. 18, contractis legionum *vexillis*, where see note 13. Agricola took his stand in front of the peditum auxilia, mentioned above, among which would be several bodies of troops, termed vexilla.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1. **Constantia.]** Sc. calm, self-possessed courage.

2. **Cetris.]** The 'cetra' was a small leathern shield, like the pelta. It appears from Livy XXXI. 36 that 'cetrati' and 'peltastae' were convertible terms.

3. **Batavorum cohortes.]** These are continually mentioned in the *Historiae*, and it appears that eight cohorts formed the 'auxilia' of the 14th legion. They were brave but turbulent troops.

4. **Quod.]** Sc. which mode of fighting.

5. **In aperto.]** The reading of the Vatican MSS. and, as it seems, quite defensible. The idea is that of hand-to-hand fighting in a free open space, where the best and most convenient weapons would be sure to tell. 'In arcto' (the reading adopted by Ritter and Kritz) is a purely arbitrary conjecture. Livy, XXXVIII. 41, thus describes a similar engagement: etsi iniquo loco, praelio tamen justo, acie *aperta*, collatis armis perquandum erat. The ground might be uneven; all that is meant is that it was clear of obstacles. Comp. the Greek military phrase ὕπαιθρος.

6. **Miscere ictus.]** Sc. to inflict blows at close quarters.

7. **Connisae.]** 'Straining every effort.' This is the reading of the best MSS. and is adopted by the recent editors.

8. **Interim...haerebant.]** This is a somewhat confused sentence, about the reading and punctuation of which editors vary. The question is whether the 'equitum turmae' were those of the Romans or the Britons. If the former, we must either read 'ut fugere' with Kritz, or take 'fugere covinnarii' with Ritter, as parenthetically introduced, which seems exceedingly awkward, and improbable. In this case 'equitum turmae' would no doubt be identical with the 3000 cavalry which, as appears from Ch. 35, were posted on the wings of the Roman army. The word 'turmae' (a technical military term) would certainly seem to point to a *Roman* rather than to any other force. It is, however, applied *Ann.* XIV. 34 to the Britons (Britannorum copiae passim per catervas et *turmas* exsultabant), and it must be remembered that Caesar expressly mentions cavalry among the various kinds of military force employed by them. It is thus possible that Orelli's view of the passage (we have followed his punctuation), taking 'equitum turmae' to mean the Caledonian cavalry, may be correct. It is not satisfactory, but other explanations seem to involve an alteration of the text or a very harsh interpretation. There can, we think, be no doubt that by 'hostium' in the succeeding clause is meant the Caledonians. The 'covinnarii' (though they produced a sudden panic) soon became entangled in the dense masses of their army's infantry, and were rendered useless by the unevenness of the ground.

9. **Minimeque...impellerentur.]** This is a corrupt passage which Orelli gives up. We have retained 'equestris' (as the Vatican MSS. have 'equestres'), and then follow Kritz in reading

aegre clivo instantes, which is not a violent departure from the MSS., and which certainly yields a satisfactory meaning. It was not like a regular cavalry engagement, as it was fought on sloping ground, on which they could barely keep their footing. On such ground too, the infantry would be peculiarly liable to be thrown down by the pressure of the cavalry horses which were drawn up among them. Wex's ingenious conjecture 'aequa nostris ea jam pugnae facies erat,' does not appear to be absolutely required.

10. **Transversos aut obvios.]** These words are, probably, to be referred to the Romans. Lipsius, however, understood them of the Britons.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1. **Vacui.]** This means much the same as 'securi.' Here, as frequently, the less usual word is preferred by Tacitus.

2. **Ad subita belli.]** 'For the sudden emergencies of war.' The same phrase occurs *Hist.* v. 13.

3. **Ferocius.]** The word implies the notion of 'dash' and 'impetuosity.'

4. **In ipsos versum.]** 'Recoiled upon themselves.' The Britons who tried to take the Romans in rear, were themselves thus attacked.

5. **Aversam hostium aciem.]** Sc. 'the enemy's rear.'

6. **Tum vero, &c.]** Tacitus, as Lipsius was the first to point out, seems to have had in his mind the following passage from Sallust, *Jug.* 101: tum spectaculum horribile campis patentibus; sequi, fugere, occidi capi, equi, viri afflicti; ac multi vulneribus acceptis neque fugere posse neque quietem pati, niti modo ac statim concidere; postremo omnia qua visus erat constrata telis, armis, cadaveribus, et inter ea humus infecta sanguine. With the words 'aliquando etiam victis ira virtus' may be compared Virg. *Aen.* II. 367, quondam etiam victis redit in praecordia virtus.

7. **Collecti...ignaros.]** This from the time of Puteolanus has been the common reading, and is adhered to by Orelli. It does not appear to have been satisfactorily emended by the efforts of recent editors. Something stands in the MSS. before 'collecti,' which Ritter conjectures to be inde, Halm (whom Kritz follows) more ingeniously, identidem, which conveys the idea of repeated sudden attacks made by the flying army on the pursuers. The general sense of the passage is clear enough, but we can hardly hope to restore the original with precision.

8. **Indaginis modo.]** 'Indago' denoted the process of enclosing a wood and stopping up all its outlets with nets, dogs, watchers, &c. Comp. Virg. *Aen.* IV. 121, Dum trepidant alae silvasque *indagine* cingunt. The 'validae et expeditae cohortes' were to surround the woods at all points and cut off the enemy's escape. Comp. Livy VII. 37, quum praemissus eques velut *indagine* dissipatos Samnites ageret. In *Ann.* XIII. 42, the word is used of the cunning arts of the fortune-hunters, Romae testamenta et orbos velut *indagine* ejus capi.

9. **Rariores silvas.]** 'The less dense parts of the forest.'

10. **Persultare.]** 'To scour.'

11. **In fugam versi.]** 'They turned to flight.'

12. **Vitabundi invicem.]** 'Avoiding one another.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1. **Ultro incendere.]** 'Actually fired them.' 'Ultro' denotes the doing something altogether unexpected and unnecessary.

2. **Consilia aliqua.]** The addition of the word 'aliqua' is meant to imply that the Britons made only a few weak efforts at united action. 'They occassionally held counsel together.'

3. **Separare.]** Sc. 'consilia.' Instead of consulting together (miscere consilia), each thought only of his own safety.

4. **Pignorum.]** Sc. their wives and children. Comp. *Germ.* 7, in proximo *pignora* ('close at hand are those dearest to them').

5. **Concitari.]** 'Were roused to fury.'

6. **Tamquam misererentur.]** They were really urged to this act by rage; they pretended to be moved by pity for the lot of their wives and children.

7. **Vastum ubique silentium.]** 'Everywhere a gloomy silence.' Comp. *Ann.* III. 4, dies per *silentium vastus*. The notion of gloom and solitude is what the word 'vastus' specially and primarily denotes.

8. **Secreti colles.]** 'Deserted hills.' Comp. Virg. *Aen.* VI. 443, *secreti celant calles.*

9. **Spargi bellum.]** Comp. *Ann.* III. 21, Tacfarinas *spargit* bellum, sc. wages war at several points.

10. **Borestorum.]** The name occurs nowhere else. The tribe of the Boresti must have dwelt to the north of Bodotria, possibly in Fife.

11. **Vires.]** 'A military force.'

12. **Secunda tempestate ac fama.]** 'With favourable weather and great renown.'

13. **Unde proximo...redierat.]** 'Unde' is to be construed with 'lecto,' not, as might seem at first sight, with 'redierat.' The meaning of this somewhat obscurely expressed clause is that the fleet started on its cruise from the 'Trutulensis portus,' to which it returned. By 'proximum Britanniae latus' must be meant the shores adjacent to Bodotria, that is, the east coast of Scotland. It seems clear that the 'Trutulensis portus' must have been some point at no great distance from Bodotria. The voyage here described has been alluded to Ch. 10. Without being a circumnavigation of Britain, it was enough to prove the country to be an island.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1. **Auctum.]** The MSS. have 'actum,' which seems utterly indefensible, though one or two editors retain and endeavour to explain it. *Auctum* (the correction of Lipsius) is read by nearly all recent editors.

2. **Ut Domitiano moris erat.]** Comp. for similar construction *Germ.* 13, arma sumere non cuiquam *moris*, *Germ.* 21, abeunti si quid poposcerit, concedere *moris*, and ch. 33, ut barbaris *moris*.

3. **Fronte laetus, pectore anxius.]** 'With joy on his countenance, anxiety at his heart.'

4. **Falsum e Germania triumphum.]** Comp. Dio, LXVII. 4, and Suet. *Dom.* VI. The first tells us that Domitian marched with an army into Germany and returned without even the sight of an enemy. Suetonius speaks of sundry engagements (varia praelia) on the strength of which he celebrated a twofold triumph (duplicem triumphum) over the Chatti and Daci. Pliny in his Panegyric, Ch. 16, contrasts the genuine triumphs of Trajan's reign with the mimici currus and falsae simulacra victoriae of a former period. Comp. also *Germ.* Ch. 37, ingentes C. Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae, and see note 22.

5. **At nunc veram, &c.]** The infinitives in this and the following sentences depend on inerat conscientia.

6. **Studia fori.]** Sc. the eloquence of the bar.

7. **Civilium artium decus.]** By 'civiles artes' is meant knowledge of the law and the pursuit of politics. Comp. *Ann.*

III. 75, Capito Ateius...principem in civitate locum *studiis civilibus* adsecutus, and *Hist.* II. 5, where Mucianus is described in comparison with Vespasian as 'aptior sermone, dispositu provisuque civilium rerum peritus.'

8. **In silentium acta.**] Comp. Ch. 2 and 3. The expression denotes not merely 'driven into obscurity,' but actually 'silenced.'

9. **Occuparet.**] 'Forestall.' The word is used in its strictest meaning.

10. **Cetera.**] Sc. all other distinctions.

11. **Dissimulari.**] 'Disregarded.' As we say, 'he could shut his eyes to them.'

12. **Ducis...esse.**] Sc. 'the greatness of a good general was something specially imperial.'

13. **Secreto suo satiatus.**] It might be thought that the word 'secretum' points to the emperor's 'Albana arx,' mentioned Ch. 45. It seems best however to refer it to his dark and secret purposes, which for the present he was satisfied with brooding over. He was as yet in no hurry to execute them. Pliny thus speaks of Domitian, *Paneg.* 48: Non adire quisquam non alloqui audebat tenebras semper secretumque captantem, nec umquam ex solitudine sua prodeuntem nisi ut solitudinem faceret. Comp. Ch. 22, Ceterum ex iracundia, etc., where a contrast between the characters of Agricola and Domitian is suggested.

14. **Reponere odium.**] Sc. to treasure up his hatred. Recondere is used in a similar way, *Ann.* I. 69, Accendebat haec onerabatque Sejanus, peritia morum Tiberii odia in longum jaciens quae reconderet auctaque promeret. Comp. also *Ann.* XVI. 5, Adversus illustres dissimulatum ad praesens odium et mox redditum.

15. **Impetus famae.**] Sc. the first burst of his popularity.

CHAPTER XL.

1. **Triumphalia ornamenta.**] These comprised the 'corona laurea,' 'toga praetexta,' 'tunica palmata,' and 'sella curulis.' The 'statua illustris' (not necessarily included among these ornamenta) is elsewhere termed 'laureata,' and 'triumphalis.' See *Ann.* IV. 23, XV. 72, and *Hist.* I. 79.

2. **Quicquid pro triumpho datur.**] Sc. the 'supplicatio' (which usually preceded the triumph itself), and the 'sacra' con-

nected with it. As in Agricola's case, the ceremony of the supplicatio was not invariably followed by the grand triumphal procession.

3. **Opinionem.]** 'A general impression.' The word has been wrongly understood of an impression produced in the mind of Agricola.

4. **Majoribus reservatam.]** 'Reserved for men of more than ordinary distinction.' Syria was a particularly rich province, and its government was the best post at the emperor's disposal.

5. **Sive ex ingenio...est.]** 'Or whether (the story) was invented and made up to suit the emperor's character.'

6. **Tradiderat.]** Agricola left Britain A.D. 85. We do not know who succeeded him. We are told by Suetonius (*Dom.* x.) of a Sallustius Lucullus, a governor of Britain, who was put to death by Domitian for allowing a new kind of lance to be called a Lucullea. It is just possible that this was Agricola's successor.

7. **Amicorum officio.]** Sc. the complimentary attentions of friends.

8. **Brevi osculo.]** Comp. *Ann.* XIII. 18, where Nero is said to have left his mother, 'post *breve osculum.*'

9. **Turbae servientium.]** 'The crowd of servile courtiers.'

10. **Grave inter otiosos.]** Sc. 'an object of dislike to men of leisure,' such as were the civilians about the emperor's court.

11. **Penitus auxit.]** Sc. he carried to the furthermost possible limit. This must be the meaning of 'auxit,' if it is the right reading. Wex reads from his own conjecture 'hausit,' which seems a more appropriate word. The MSS. however all have 'auxit,' which may perhaps bear the meaning we have assigned to it.

12. **Cultu modicus.]** 'Cultus' denotes generally a man's external style of life, and would refer to his dress, house, furniture, establishment, &c. Comp. Plin. *Epp.* I. 22, quam parcus [Aristo] in victu, quam *modicus in cultu.*

13. **Quibus...mos est.]** 'Whose habit it is to judge of great men by external show.' 'Ambitio' specially signifies the kind of show and splendour which at Rome took the form of being waited on by a number of clients.

14. **Quaererent ...... interpretarentur.]** 'Asked the reason of (Agricola's) fame, only a few could give the right answer.'

CHAPTER XLI.

1. **Laudantes.]** Comp. for a similar use of the participle Ch. 4, peccantium, Ch. 40, servientium.

2. **In Moesia Daciaque.** This refers to Domitian's war in Dacia, which was begun by the Dacian chief Decebalus A. D. 86. The Daci entered Moesia and stormed the winter-camp of the legions.

3. **In Germania et Pannonia.]** This appears from Dio, LXVII. 7, to be an allusion to losses sustained by Roman armies in the territories of the Marcomanni and Quadi.

4. **Militares viri.]** Wex, as it seems, without sufficient reason reads vici. The MSS. have viri, and the phrase 'vir militaris' is applied to Corbulo, *Ann.* XV. 26. Sallust too, *Cat.* 45, uses the similar expression 'homines militares.'

5. **Expugnati.]** A word rarely used of persons, but almost always of towns, fortresses, &c. We find however in Livy, XXIII. 30, nec ulla magis vis obsessos quam fames *expugnavit.* A similar use of ἐκπολιορκεῖν (the Greek equivalent to expugnare) occurs in Thucyd. I. 134, τὸν Παυσανίαν ἐξεπολιόρκησαν λιμῷ.

6. **Limite imperii.]** 'Limes' denotes the actual fortified boundary line which had been drawn for the defence of the empire against the German and Sarmatian tribes on the side of Pannonia and Dacia.

7. **Ripa.]** Sc. the bank of the Danube, which for a considerable period had been in Roman hands, and was one of the great boundaries of the empire.

8. **Funeribus et cladibus.]** The first word may be meant to denote family losses, the second, those of the state. It is however quite possible that no such distinction is implied, and that the words are coupled together for the sake of rhetorical effect, as the general character of the passage would seem to suggest.

9. **Constantiam.]** 'Steady bravery.'

10. **Ceterorum.]** So Kritz after H. Grotius, whose emendation appears to be the best, though it must be admitted that the rhythm of the sentence rather halts. The Vatican MSS. have eorum, after which something appears to have dropped out.

11. **Verberatas.]** A strong word, used to imply that a deep impression was made on the emperor.

12. **Principem exstimulabant.]** 'Were working powerfully on the emperor's feelings.' This is one of the rare instances of the use of dum with the imperfect indicative.

13. **Vitiis aliorum.]** 'Vitium' here includes faults of incapacity (which have been hinted at in the words inertia et formidine ceterorum) and the moral faults above named of 'malignitas' and 'livor.'

14. **In ipsam......agebatur.]** 'Praeceps agi' expresses the notion of being hurried to ruin. In Agricola's case the glory (which was, as it were, thrust upon him) was his ruin. Two thoughts are combined in the sentence, (1) Agricola's rapid rise to greatness, (2) the fatal dangers of that greatness. 'In ipsam gloriam,' 'to the very height of glory.'

CHAPTER XLII.

1. **Aderat jam annus.]** Probably the 5th year after Agricola's return from Britain, or A.D. 90. By this time he would be among the oldest of the consulars, and as such might look for either of the provinces here named.

2. **Asiae et Africae.]** Sc. the proconsulate of either Asia or Africa. Both were senatorian provinces.

3. **Civica.]** Comp. Suetonius (*Dom.* x.) where we are told that among other senators of consular rank put to death by Domitian was Civica Cerialis, who was at the time proconsul of Asia. This gives force to the words 'nec Domitiano exemplum.'

4. **Consilium.]** Sc. the means of knowing how to act.

5. **Exemplum.]** 'A precedent.'

6. **Cogitationum principis periti.]** 'Familiar with the emperor's views.'

7. **Ultro Agricolam interrogarent.]** 'Went so far as to ask Agricola.'

8. **Occultius.]** 'In somewhat obscure hints.'

9. **Mox......offerre.]** Soon after they offered their services in making good his excuse, sc. in satisfying the emperor's mind as to Agricola's reasons for declining a province.

10. **Non jam obscuri.]** 'No longer hiding their purpose;' throwing off the mask.

11. **Pertraxere.]** 'Brought him against his will.'

12. **Paratus simulatione.]** This has been understood to

mean 'having a stock of hypocrisy always ready;' 'completely furnished with it.' It is better, we think, to take the words as if they meant 'armed with hypocrisy.' This seems more vigorous and Tacitean.

13. **In arrogantiam compositus.]** 'Assuming a haughty demeanour.' The emperor affected complete indifference to the matter.

14. **Agi sibi gratias passus est.]** Seneca (*de Tranq.* 14) mentions a yet stronger instance of the encouragement of servility in Caligula, who allowed those whose children he had put to death, and those whose property he had confiscated, formally to thank him.

15. **Beneficii invidia.]** 'The invidious character of the favour.' The favour granted to Agricola was such as would bring odium (invidia) on the emperor with all right-thinking men.

16. **Salarium.]** According to Dio, LII. 23, it was Maecenas who advised Augustus that salaries should be paid to the governors of provinces. The same writer tells us (LXXVIII. 22), that under the emperor Macrinus (A. D. 218), Aufidius Fronto who was to have been proconsul of Africa or Asia, but who did not go to either province, received the sum of 1,000,000 sesterces, or about £8000, and he implies that this was the regular scale of payment.

17. **Sive ex conscientia.]** 'Or from a bad conscience.' This is substantially the meaning of 'conscientia,' though here and elsewhere it differs slightly from its derivative, 'conscience,' and answers more exactly to 'consciousness.' Here it implies 'consciousness of hypocrisy or double-dealing.'

18. **Ne...emisse.]** 'Fearing that he might be thought to have gained by a bribe what he had forbidden.' The emperor was afraid people would say that he had not the strength or courage to forbid Agricola from going to his province, but had been obliged to bribe him with the salarium.

19. **Quo obscurior eo irrevocabilior.]** 'Implacable in proportion to its reserve.'

20. **Prudentia.]** 'Good sense.'

21. **Inani jactatione libertatis.]** 'By a useless parade of freedom.'

22. **Quibus......mirari.]** 'Those who make a point of admiring lawless behaviour.' 'Illicitus' denotes not merely what is contrary to good manners, but what is actually forbidden by law. Here therefore it would imply 'conduct in defiance of the emperor's

authority.' Possibly in this sentence and in the words 'inani jactatione' there is an indirect allusion to some of the extreme affectations of Stoicism.

23. **Modestiam.]** 'Quiet, orderly demeanour.' Along with this the idea of self-control is implied.

24. **Eo laudis excedere.]** 'Rise to that degree of distinction.' 'Excedere' denotes the transcending ordinary limits. Lipsius needlessly conjectured 'escendere.'

25. **Per abrupta.]** 'By steep (and, consequently, dangerous) paths.' The meaning of the phrase is explained and illustrated by a passage in *Ann.* IV. 20, an liceat inter *abruptam* contumaciam et deforme obsequium pergere iter ambitione ac periculis vacuum. The notion of 'abrupta contumacia,' as here of per abrupta, is a defiant disregard of all that custom and public opinion sanction and require.

26. **Ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.]** 'Have become famous by a death intended for effect.' Ambitiosus, 'desirous to win applause;' ambitiosae preces (*Hist.* II. 49), 'prayers very anxious to gain their end,' hence 'importunate.' Comp. Ch. 29, quem casum neque ambitiose......tulit, and see note 2.

CHAPTER XLIII.

1. **Finis vitae, &c. &c.]** Comp. this and the following chapters with Cicero's remarks on the death of Lucius Crassus (Cic. *De Orat.* III. 2, 3), a passage which Tacitus would seem to have had in his mind.

2. **Extraneis.]** Sc. Those who were neither relatives nor intimate friends. The death of Germanicus excited similar grief. See *Ann.* III. 1, 2, where it is said 'idem omnium gemitus; neque discerneres proximos alienos.'

3. **Vulgus et hic aliud agens populus.]** No marked distinction is intended between *vulgus* and *populus*. Both words denote the lowest and poorest class, as in *Dialog.* 7, *vulgus* imperitum et tunicatus hic *populus* (*tunicatus* meaning those who were too poor to wear the 'toga,' comp. Hor. *Epp.* I. 7, 65, *tunicato* popello) and as in *Hist.* I. 89, *vulgus* et magnitudine nimia communium curarum expers *populus*. Comp. also *Hist.* II. 90, *vulgus* vacuum curis. These passages explain and illustrate the meaning of '*aliud agens*' which implies inattention and indifference to public events, and is thus almost equivalent to 'incuriosus.' The phrase 'alias res agere' means "to be inattentive to the matter in hand." See Ter. *Eun.* II. 3, 57, *alias res* agis;

Cic. *Brutus*, 66, 233, omnia magna voce dicens, verborum sane bonorum cursu incitato, ita furebat tamen ut mirarere tam *alias res agere* populum ut esset insano inter disertos locus. Comp. also Pliny, *Paneg.* 5 tibi (sc. Trajano) *quanquam non id agentium*, civium clamor occurrit.

4. **Fora.]** Sc. what the French call les places publiques.

5. **Circulos.]** Sc. little knots or gatherings for gossip.

6. **Locuti sunt.]** 'Talked of him.' Understand 'eum.' Comp. *Ann.* XVI. 22, te, Nero, et Thraseam civitas *loquitur*.

7. **Constans rumor.]** Sc. a generally current and uncontradicted report. Dio, LXVI. 20, positively asserts its truth. Suetonius however does not include Agricola in the number of senators and men of consular rank put to death by Domitian (Suet. *Domit.* 10).

8. **Nobis nihil comperti affirmare ausim.]** 'I would venture to affirm that we have no certain knowledge.' We have followed the reading of the MSS. according to which 'esse' must be understood after 'comperti.' If this reading is correct, Tacitus appears to mean that all he can state positively is that to himself the whole affair was wrapped in obscurity. In the two following sentences he insinuates the worst; in this, he leaves it an open question, on which others may make up their minds, if they can. Ritter and Wex emend the passage; the first inserts *ut*, the second *quodve*, after 'comperti.' As it stands, it is certainly somewhat obscure. There is however no real difficulty about the sudden change from the plural to the singular in 'nobis, ausim.' Instances of this are by no means rare. Comp. *Ann.* XIV. 43, simul quidquid hoc in *nobis* auctoritatis est, crebris contradictionibus destruendum non *existimabam*.

9. **Principatus.]** Sc. the imperial court.

10. **Medicorum intimi.]** Comp. *Ann.* IV. 3, where in the account of Sejanus's plot against the life of Drusus, Livia, the wife of the latter, is said to have made a 'confidant' of one Eudemus, a physician (sumitur in conscientiam Eudemus, amicus ac medicus Liviae, specie artis frequens secretis).

11. **Inquisitio.]** 'Espionage.'

12. **Momenta ipsa deficientis.]** 'Momentum' answers to ῥοπή and denotes (1) the turn of the scale, (2) the critical moment at which the turn takes place. Hence here it signifies all the various symptoms of approaching death.

13. **Per dispositos cursores.]** Sc. messengers between Rome and Domitian's 'villa Albana,' on which see ch. 45.

14. **Animo vultuque.]** It is not necessary to explain this as a hendiadis. 'Animus' denotes the frame of mind which inclines a person to the usual manifestations of grief, 'vultus,' its expression in the countenance. Domitian's assumed grief, showed itself not merely in his looks but in his general demeanour.

15. **Securus jam odii.]** 'Being now careless of his hatred.' Domitian was now free from the anxiety with which his hatred of Agricola had filled him. Consequently, being at ease in his mind, he could, in spite of his natural irascibility, so far control himself as to exhibit a show of sorrow. This he could not do as long as he was afraid.

16. **Coheredem.]** This probably implies that Agricola made the emperor heir to *half* his estate.

17. **Piissimae.]** A form disapproved by writers of the Augustan age. Cicero (*Philip.* XIII. 19) twits M. Antonius with having used it in reference to Lepidus.

18. **Velut honore judicioque.]** '(he was greatly pleased) as if it were a compliment and a free choice.' Domitian in this instance followed the example of such emperors as Caligula and Nero, to the latter of whom Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, and husband of Boadicea, paid the same compliment with the same hope as Agricola, See *Ann.* XIV. 31. Comp. also *Ann.* XVI. 11, where L. Vetus, one of Nero's victims, is advised magna ex parte Caesarem haeredem nuncupare, atque ita nepotibus de reliquo consulere. Domitian, who at first refused to receive any legacies from those who had children, would afterwards claim a deceased person's estate on the slightest evidence. See Suet. *Dom.* 9, 12. Pliny (*Paneg.* 43) speaks of the 'security of our wills' as one of the happy features of Trajan's reign. For 'judicio' comp. Suet. *Octav.* 66, where it is said of Augustus, that, though he refused to accept any legacy from strangers, amicorum tamen *suprema judicia* morosissime pensitavit.

CHAPTER XLIV.

1. **Decentior.]** 'Decens' denotes grace and symmetry of figure. The French translator Louandre thus renders the passage; Sa taille était bien proportionnée sans être haute.

2. **Nihil metus in vultu.]** So Orelli and Wex. The MSS. vary. One has nihil metus et impetus, which can hardly be the true reading, though Kritz adopts it. 'Metus' here, as elsewhere, denotes that which causes fear. Comp. Quintil. *Instit.* VI. 2, 21 metum duplicem intelligi volo, *quem patimur*, et *quem facimus*. Possibly a contrast may be intended between Agricola and Domitian whom Pliny (*Paneg.* 48) describes as 'visu terribilis.'

3. **Gratia oris supererat.**] 'A gracious expression predominated' (*C* and *B*). 'Superesse' has a similar meaning ch. 45, omnia......*superfuere* honori tuo. Comp. also Germ. 6, ne ferrum quidem *superest*, and 26, *superest* ager.

4. **Integrae aetatis.**] A phrase answering to our expression "the prime of life."

5. **Quantum ad gloriam.**] 'As regards glory.' Comp. Germ. ch. 21, *quantum ad* jus hospitis.

6. **Impleverat.**] 'He had fully attained.' Comp. *Ann.* XIV. 54, uterque mensuram *implevimus*, and Plin. *Epp.* II. 1, 2, perfunctus est tertio consulatu ut summum fastigium privati hominis *impleret*.

7. **Triumphalibus ornamentis.**] See ch. 40, note 1.

8. **Opibus nimiis non gaudebat.**] 'Excessive wealth he did not possess.' Kritz' interpretation; 'he did not set a value on,' &c.

9. **Speciosae.**] Sc. sufficient wealth to make a handsome appearance.

10. **Filia...superstitibus.**] Wex reads filiae, uxori and connects them with the preceding 'speciosae contigerant.' His reason for so doing, that Agricola could not be pronounced happy because his daughter and wife survived him and were thus destined to see the evil days which he escaped, seems far-fetched. It must have been at least a comfort to him, as pointed out in the next chapter, to have had his wife by his side during his last illness.

11. **Nam sicuti...ominabatur.**] Ritter's emendation of this passage (which he accomplishes by substituting quondam for quod) appears to be the simplest, and we have (with Kritz) adopted it. We think too Kritz is right in reading hanc lucem for hac luce, as this is the regular construction with durare. There is, it must be admitted, considerable difficulty about the expression 'durare ominabatur,' which may however be compared with a passage in *Hist.* I. 50, erant qui Vespasianum et arma Orientis *augurarentur*. It may too be justified by the fact that sperare, a similar word, is occasionally construed with the *present* infinitive. According to Dio, LXIX. 12 (and Plin. *Paneg.* 5, 94), Trajan's elevation was foretold two years before Agricola's death, and to this Tacitus perhaps refers in 'augurio.' Or we may render 'Trajanum' by our expression 'a Trajan.' 'Augurio votisque ominabatur' is equivalent to 'augurabatur et vehementer optabat.'

12. **Grande solatium tulit.]** 'Solatium ferre' may be a similar expression to 'palmam ferre' (where ferre is for referre), in which case 'solatium' must be rendered by 'compensation.' Or (as Wex takes it) it may mean, 'he brought us great consolation for his premature death,' &c. &c.

13. **Spiramenta].** Sc. 'pauses.'

14. **Uno ictu.]** So Caligula was said to have wished that the Roman people had one neck, that he might have destroyed them at a blow. Comp. Senec. *de Ira*, III. 19.

15. **Rem publicam exhausit.]** 'Drained the life-blood of the state:' or 'exhausit' may be used as 'hausisse' in *Hist.* I. 41, 'to inflict a deadly wound,' jugulum ejus *hausisse*.

CHAPTER XLV.

1. **Non vidit etc.]** There is a marked resemblance between this passage and Cic. *de Orat.* III. 2, Non vidit (L. Crassus) flagrantem bello Italiam, non ardentem invidia senatum, non sceleris nefarii principes civitatis reos.

2. **Obsessam...senatum.]** These words point to some *one* occurrence, of which we know nothing from any other source. It appears from *Ann.* XVI. 27, that Nero intimidated the senate in a similar fashion.

3. **Consularium caedes.]** Suetonius (*Domit.* X.) gives a list of these murders, with the frivolous causes which provoked them. Among them were Civica Cerialis, proconsul of Asia; Sallustius Lucullus, governor of Britain; Salvius Cocceianus, nephew of the Emperor Otho; Junius Rusticus; the younger Helvidius, &c. &c.

4. **Nobilissimarum feminarum.]** Among these were Gratilla, the wife of Arulenus Rusticus; Arria, the wife of Thrasea; Faunia, his daughter, who twice accompanied her husband into exile, and was a third time banished on his account. See Plin. *Epp.* III. 11, VII. 19.

5. **Una adhuc victoria censebatur.]** 'As yet (at the time of Agricola's death) by one and only one victory was Carus Metius distinguished.' 'Censeri' is equivalent to 'aestimari,' and its precise meaning is that Metius's power for mischief was as yet estimated by but one successful information. It is thus used *Dial.* 39, ejusmodi libri extant ut ipsi quoque qui egerunt non aliis magis orationibus *censeantur*, and Plin. *Paneg.* 15, quisquis paullo vetustior miles, hic te commilitone *censetur*. The name of the notorious 'delator' Caius Metius meets us Plin. *Epp.* VII. 19, 5, VII. 27, 14, Juv. I. 35, Mart. XII. 25. 5.

6. **Albanam arcem.]** This was one of Domitian's country seats. It was under the Alban Mount, and was 17 miles from

Rome. Tacitus, as also Juvenal, IV. 145, terms it 'arx,' to imply that it was a kind of centre and stronghold of imperial tyranny. Dio, LXVII. 1, describes it as the emperor's ἀκρόπολις. It was here that he convoked the 'pontifices' to pass sentence of death on the Vestal, Cornelia. See Plin. *Epp.* IV. 11. Not till the emperor's later years were the counsels (sententia) of Messalinus (whom Juvenal, IV. 115, describes as Grande et conspicuum nostro quoque tempore monstrum) heard beyond its walls.

7. **Massa Baebius.]** See *Hist.* IV. 50, and Plin. *Ep.* III. 4, VI. 29, VII. 33. He was impeached by the province of Baetica where he had been procurator.

8. **Nostrae...manus.]** Sc. the hands of us senators, of whom Tacitus at this time was one.

9. **Nos Maurici Rusticique, &c. &c.]** Wex, to avoid the somewhat bold zeugma in the passage as it stands, reads from the margin of one of the Vatican MSS. Nos Mauricum Rusticumque *divisimus*. This is a mere conjecture. Understand after 'visus' some such word as 'perculit' or 'afflixit.' The zeugma seems not too harsh for Tacitus.

10. **Quum suspiria nostra subscriberentur.]** 'When our sighs were made matter of accusation.' *Subscribere* (properly 'to sign one's name under that of the plaintiff or accuser') is continually used by the best writers as equivalent to 'accusare,' and 'indices' or 'accusatores' are also termed '*subscriptores*.' Quintilian, XII. 8. 8, has the expression *subscribere* audita (to make what has been heard the subject of a charge).

11. **Denotandis tot hominibus palloribus.]** Comp. *Ann.* III. 53, In hac relatione subtrahi oculos meos melius fuit, ne *denotantibus* vobis ora ac metum singulorum ipse etiam viderem eos ac velut deprehenderem. Denotare pallores is to mark out with a view to destruction the men whose faces are beginning to turn pale; and the word 'denotare' answers to 'designare,' which is used in a similar way in Cic. *Cat.* I. 1. 2, notat et *designat* oculis ad caedem unumquemque nostrum. It seems clear that 'denotare' may be thus understood, and therefore Wex's conjecture, denotandis...*pallore oribus* (which, though probably Latin, strikes us as awkward) is needless. With this passage may be aptly compared Juvenal's description of Domitian's senate (IV. 74), proceres, In quorum facie miserae magnaeque sedebat Pallor amicitiae.

12. **Rubor...muniebat.]** The natural redness of Domitian's countenance (of which Pliny, *Paneg.* 48, and Suetonius, Domit. 18, both speak) rendered him proof against the ordinary manifestation of the feeling of shame. Comp. also *Hist.* IV. 40, *crebra oris confusio* pro modestia accipiebatur.

13. **Tu vero...mortis.]** So Cic. *de Orat.* III. 3. Ego vero, te, Crasse, quum vitae flore, tum *mortis opportunitate* divino consilio et ortum et exstinctum esse arbitror.

14. **Constans et libens.]** 'With courage and cheerfulness.'

15. **Tamquam...donares.]** 'As though to the best of thy power thou wert bestowing freedom from guilt on the emperor.' The phrase 'pro virili portione' ('parte' and not 'portione' is the word used by writers of the Augustan age) occurs *Hist.* III. 20, and denotes 'all that a man can do singly.' The expression 'innocentiam donares' seems intended to suggest that the emperor was not really innocent of Agricola's death.

16. **Longae absentiae condicione.]** 'By the necessity of a long absence.' Tacitus is speaking of *his own* absence from Rome.

17. **Paucioribus lacrimis.]** Sc. 'with too few tears.'

18. **Compositus.]** The reading of the MSS. is '*comploratus.*' '*Compositus,* however, is found in the margin of one of the Vatican MSS., and is read by all recent editors except Kritz. It seems a far more suitable word than 'comploratus,' which savours too much of the noisy lamentations which in the next chapter Tacitus deprecates. Comp. *Hist.* I. 47, Pisonem Verania uxor et frater...*composuere,* and Hor. *Sat.* I. 9, 28, omnes *composui.*

19. **Desideravere aliquid.]** 'Longed for something in vain.'

CHAPTER XLVI.

1. **Ut sapientibus placet.]** 'As is believed by philosophers.'

2. **Infirmo desiderio.]** 'Feeble regret,' 'infirmus' denoting what belongs to a morbid state of mind.

3. **Lugeri...plangi.]** The *first* word expresses the sentiment of grief, the *second* its outward manifestations.

4. **Quam temporalibus laudibus.]** 'Quam' is due to Ursinus, and is certainly required if 'temporalibus' (which is the reading of the MSS.) be retained. The notion of *temporales* laudes (transitory praises) is the 'laudatio funebris,' which would be soon forgotten. This, we believe, is what Tacitus had in his mind. He himself, as Pliny (*Epp.* II. 1. 6) tells us, pronounced a funeral *éloge* over Verginius Rufus. Lipsius (whom Ritter follows) substituted from conjecture 'immortalibus' for temporalibus; but it would hardly have been in good taste for Tacitus to apply such an epithet to the present work.

5. **Si natura suppeditet.]** Sc. if our natural powers are equal to the task.

6. **Decoremus.]** 'Let us honour.' Comp. Ennius quoted by Cicero (*Tusc.* I. 15, 34), Nemo me lacrimis *decoret* nec funera fletu Faxit.

7. **Formamque ac figuram.]** *Formam* is the correction of Muretus for *famam*, the reading of the MSS., and is accepted by nearly all editors. Comp. Cic. *Tusc.* I. 16, 37, animorum *formam* aliquam atque *figuram* quaerebant. Tacitus uses the phrase to denote the whole mind and character of Agricola. Pliny also uses it in connection with a very similar sentiment (*Paneg.* 55), *formam* principis *figuramque* non aurum melius vel argentum quam favor hominum exprimat teneatque.

8. **Non quia...putem.]** 'Not because I think a veto ought to be put on,' &c. 'Intercedere' is strictly said of the *tribunitian* veto. The *subjunctive* implies, 'I am not one to think,' &c.

9. **Forma mentis.]** 'Mens' here = animus, and stands for the entire mental and spiritual being.

10. **Tenere et exprimere.]** 'Retain and represent.'

11. **Alienam materiam et artem.]** Sc. marble or bronze, and the art of sculpture, which are necessarily foreign (*alienus*) to the truest and best representation of human character.

12. **In aeternitate temporum.]** 'In the eternal succession of the ages.' (*C* and *B*.)

13. **Fama rerum.]** In the records of history, or more generally, 'the fame that waits on noble deeds.' (*C* and *B*.)

14. **Obruit.** This is Haupt's emendation for obruet, the reading of the MSS. It has the merit of bringing out more forcibly the antithesis between 'oblivio' and the words 'narratus et traditus.' The allusion in 'multos veterum' is to the times of the republic, and the general sentiment may be compared with the well-known passage in Horace, *C.* IV. 9. 25, Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona Multi; sed omnes illacrimabiles Urguentur ignotique longa Nocte, carent quia vate sacro. Tacitus thus hints more delicately at the effect of his work than he would do by describing it as 'laudes immortales.'

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

WHICH OCCUR IN THE AGRICOLA.

The Numerals refer to the Chapters.

INDEX OF WORDS AND PHRASES

EXPLAINED IN THE NOTES TO THE AGRICOLA.

The first Numeral refers to the Chapter, the second to the Note.

THE GERMANIA OF TACITUS.

INTRODUCTION TO THE 'GERMANIA.'

'GERMANIA' was a comprehensive term in ancient geography. It embraced certain territories on the western bank of the Rhine, as well as the vast and imperfectly known tract of country stretching from the east of that river to the confines of Sarmatia and Dacia. The first had been formed into two Roman provinces in the time of Augustus. These were called the two Germanies, or Germania Superior and Germania Inferior; and they extended from the northern sea along the Rhine to a point a little to the south of Basle. The latter, which is the subject of the present work, was sometimes described as Germania Magna, sometimes as Germania Transrhenana or Barbara. It was, as we should expect, a loosely-defined area. The Rhine, Danube, and Vistula were its western, southern, and eastern boundaries; the name, however, of the last river does not occur in Tacitus, whose account of the eastern frontier is given in exceedingly vague terms. It is mentioned by Ptolemy as one of the great rivers of Germany, and as separating it from Sarmatia. Of the northern limits of the country no ancient writer or geographer had a distinct notion. All that was known was that there were vast peninsulas and islands in the Ocean, which presented itself to the imagination of antiquity as the ultimate boun-

dary of earth and nature. These unexplored regions, about which and their inhabitants strange rumours were current, to which there are brief allusions in this work, were all included in the name 'Germania.'

It is to Tacitus that we are mainly indebted for whatever knowledge we possess of ancient Germany, and of the character of its various peoples. There are indeed other writers from whom something is to be learnt in the way of comparison and illustration. The geographical treatises of Strabo, Pomponius Mela, and Ptolemy, the two first of which were written in the first and the last in the second century, contain information not always to be found in Tacitus, and may be frequently consulted with advantage by commentators on this work. From Cæsar, too, whose wars in Gaul brought him from time to time into collision with German tribes, and from Velleius Paterculus, who served under Tiberius in Germany, we get occasional hints about the country and its inhabitants. The elder Pliny's great work in twenty books on the Roman wars in Germany has unfortunately not come down to us, but there are scattered throughout his 'Historia Naturalis' passages of interest which touch on German Geography, climate, and productions. Dion Cassius and Suetonius were often led by the subject of their works to allude to Germany and its tribes, but we gain from them no important accession to our knowledge. Tacitus, in fact, though it is as well to supplement his work with what can be gathered from the above-mentioned sources, is the only writer who gives us a picture of the life of the ancient Germans. He naturally falls from time to time into the errors incident to imperfect information; his description of the localities of the various tribes is often obscure and

inaccurate, and he now and then seems to attribute to the whole German population the peculiarities of a single people. On the whole, however, there can be little doubt but that his work may be accepted as that of a sagacious thinker and painstaking inquirer. He has contrived to compress into a small compass much really valuable matter, and has enabled us to perceive in their earliest workings the germs of certain medieval and modern institutions. It would be too much to suppose that he was guided to this result by a deliberate and conscious foresight, or that he ever so dimly anticipated from what most impressed him with admiration in the character of these tribes, the establishment of a new world on the ruins of the Roman empire. Tacitus, we believe, was far too deeply imbued with Roman ideas to admit such a notion into his mind. He was no doubt struck with the contrast presented by the domestic virtues of the Germans to the corruption and profligacy of his countrymen, and he continually avails himself of it to point the satire of which he was so great a master. He felt, too, as is evident from the ominous language at the close of ch. 33, that there was danger to the empire from the side of Germany. But neither was his admiration of the Germans by any means unqualified, as is clearly shown by his exposure of their vices, nor is there anything to imply that he feared the worst for his country. On the contrary, the auspicious opening of Nerva's reign, and the increasing strength and prosperity of the empire under Trajan, seem to have inspired him with new faith in the destinies of Rome.

We gather from this work that the Germans were not for the most part an utterly barbarous people. Of

art and literature indeed they knew next to nothing, and to the civilization of Greek and Italian cities they were entire strangers. They had however a regular social organization on an aristocratic basis, and a religion not without noble and awe-inspiring elements. Society ranged itself into four classes, a hereditary landed aristocracy, free-born men also landowners, freedmen, and slaves. They were governed by chieftains or kings whose power was commonly limited. Fixed habitations, separate and apart from each other, answering to our 'homesteads,' were the rule among them. They had no distinct order of priests, as that of the Druids among the Gauls; no temples, no images of the gods. Every thing implied a love of severe simplicity and a determined spirit of independence. To one brought up amidst the elegant luxuries and refinement of Rome the German life and character must have seemed as ungenial as the climate which so strikingly contrasted with the sunny skies of Italy. Tacitus however singles out one feature in German manners for special commendation. It is their reverence for the marriage-tie and the chastity of their women. He connects this virtue with their simple life, which knew nothing of the various artificial excitements of Roman civilization.

Nowhere in the course of this work does the writer announce any special purpose which he had in view in its composition. It has no preface or introduction, as his other works have. Editors have accordingly tasked their ingenuity to the utmost with the object of supplying this defect. Ritter concludes from the absence of any introductory matter, (by means of which, he observes, in the case of the Annals, Histories and Life of Agricola, the author's aim and

purpose are clearly explained,) that the 'Germania' was intended to be an appendix to the Histories, the readers of which would perpetually feel themselves in need of a fuller and more detailed acquaintance with the country than could be conveniently given in the course of the work. This is at least a more probable hypothesis than many which have been suggested, and which can be described only as groundless conjectures. If we are to have a theory on the subject, we incline to think that ch. 38 which enumerates the Roman losses in Germany and dwells on the fierce independence of the people, more terrible even than Samnite, Carthaginian, Gaul or Parthian, hints at the motive which led to the composition of this work. A country so formidable, from which alone, as Tacitus might well think, serious danger was to be apprehended by Rome, would at least be worth a description as full and as accurate as his opportunities enabled him to give.

It cannot, we think, be inferred with any thing like certainty from the contents and general character of this work that Tacitus had ever visited Germany and passed some time in the country. Kritz indeed labours to show in an elaborate discussion that here and there matters are described with a precision and particularity which clearly betoken an eye-witness, and he lays considerable stress on the occasional introduction of native words which he argues would hardly have been known to one who had not actually resided in the country. His arguments, though ingenious, do not seem conclusive. It is certainly by no means improbable that Tacitus may have been in Germany, but the various opportunities which he must have had of gaining a knowledge of the country are amply

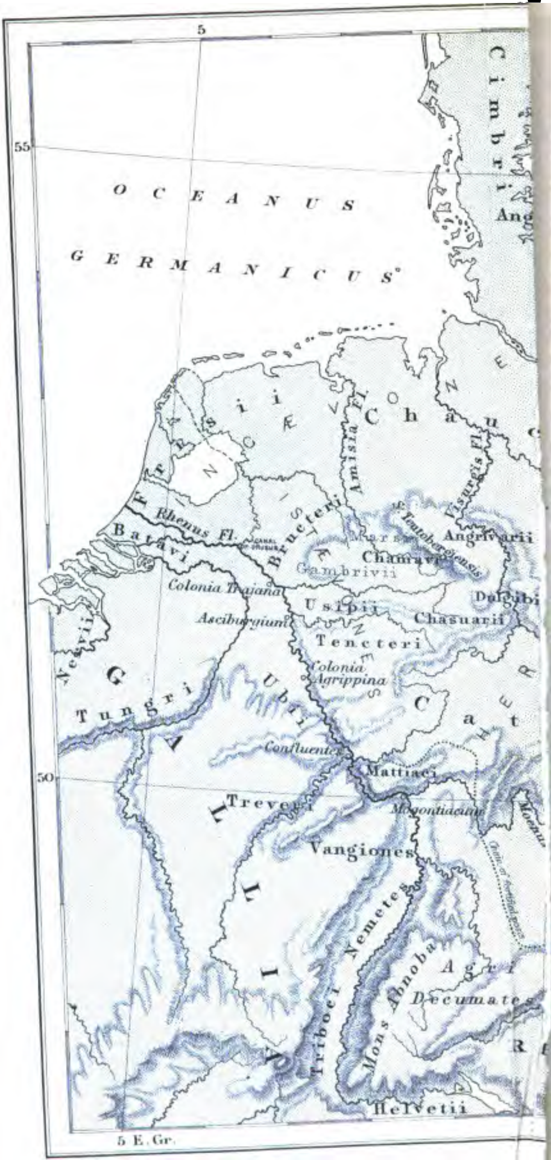
sufficient to account for the character of his descriptions. As a youth he had lived in all likelihood on the German border, and in his maturer years he would be able to add to his early impressions information gathered from Roman soldiers who had served in Germany, from members of the Emperor's German body-guard, from travellers and merchants, from the elder Pliny, with whom he was personally acquainted, and from the numerous Germans who were at that time living in Rome.

The 'Germania' bears the marks of a youthful composition. It is in passages highly rhetorical, and even poetic in some of its turns of expression. It is occasionally harsh and obscure, particularly in its description of localities, which is usually vague and ill-defined. The satire which is so characteristic of Tacitus is continually meeting us in this work. German life and manners are so described that a Roman reader must have felt that the degeneracy of his countrymen was being intentionally put to shame. The text is in a more satisfactory state than that of the Agricola, and the recensions of Haupt and Kritz, considerably more recent than that of Orelli, have probably done for it as much as a careful examination of the MSS. and a sound estimate of their comparative value can accomplish.

Table of Passages in which the Text of this Edition of the 'Germania' differs from that of Orelli.

	Orelli.	C. and B.
Ch. III.	baritum	barditum
IV.	habitus quoque corporum, quanquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus truces, &c.	habitus quoque corporum, quanquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus; truces, &c. &c.
VIII.	Auriniam	Albrunam
IX.	Herculem	[Herculem]
XIII.	haec dignitas, hae vires, magno semper electorum juvenum globo circumdari; in pace, &c. &c.	haec dignitas, hae vires; magno semper electorum juvenum globo circumdari, in pace, &c. &c.
XIV.	tueare	tuentur
XV.	non multum venatibus	multum venatibus
XIX.	abscissis	accisis
XX.	tamquam [ii] et animum &c.	tamquam et animum
XXII.	Ergo detecta et nuda omnium mens postera die retractatur, et salva, &c.	Ergo detecta et nuda omnium mens; postera die retractatur, et salva, &c.

	Orelli.	C. and B.
XXXVII.	rursus pulsi (inde)	rursus inde pulsi
XL.	passim sine custode	passim et sine custode
XLII.	Narisci	Naristi
XLIII.	[jugumque]	jugumque
XLV.	sonum insuper audiri	sonum insuper emergentis audiri
	sudantur	sudant
XLVI.	sordes omnium ac torpor; procerum, &c.	sordes omnium, ac torpor procerum, &c.


5
55
50
5 E. Gr.
OCEANUS
GERMANICUS
Cimbri
Ang
Frisii
Chauc
Amisia Fl.
Visurgis Fl.
Rhenus Fl.
Batavi
Bructeri
Marsi
Angrivarii
Chamavi
Gambrivii
Colonia Traiana
Usipii
Dulgibi
Asciburgium
Chasuarii
Tencteri
Colonia Agrippina
Nervii
Tungri
Ubii
Catt
Confluentes
Mattiaci
Treveri
Mogontiacum
Vangiones
Nemetes
Agri Decumates
Mons Abnoba
Triboci
Helvetii

P. CORNELII TACITI GERMANIA

SIVE

DE SITU, MORIBUS ET POPULIS

GERMANIAE LIBER.

I.—V. *Boundaries of Germany. Its inhabitants; why probably indigenous. Origin of the name "Germania." National songs. Legend of Ulysses. The Germans an unmixed people. Their physical characteristics. The country; its soil and products. Metals, coins.*

I. Germania omnis a Gallis Raetisque et Pannoniis Rheno et Danubio fluminibus, a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus separatur. Cetera Oceanus ambit, latos sinus et insularum immensa spatia complectens, nuper cognitis quibusdam gentibus ac regibus, quos bellum aperuit. Rhenus, Raeticarum Alpium inaccesso ac praecipiti vertice ortus, modico flexu in occidentem versus septentrionali Oceano miscetur. Danubius, molli et clementer edito montis Abnobae iugo effusus, plures populos adit, donec in Ponticum mare sex meatibus erumpat; septimum os paludibus hauritur.

II. Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim, minimeque aliarum gentium adventu et hospitiis mistos,

quia nec terra olim sed classibus advehebantur, qui mutare sedes quaerebant, et immensus ultra utque sic dixerim adversus Oceanus raris ab orbe nostro navibus aditur. Quis porro, praeter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asia aut Africa aut Italia relicta Germaniam peteret, informem terris, asperam coelo, tristem cultu aspectuque, nisi si patria sit?

Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriae et annalium genus est, Tuistonem deum terra editum, et filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoresque. Manno tris filios assignant, e quorum nominibus proximi Oceano Ingaevones, medii Herminones, ceteri Istaevones vocentur. Quidam, ut in licentia vetustatis, pluris deo ortos plurisque gentis appellationes, Marsos, Gambrivios, Suevos, Vandalos affirmant; eaque vera et antiqua nomina. Ceterum Germaniae vocabulum recens et nuper additum, quoniam, qui primi Rhenum transgressi Gallos expulerint, ac nunc Tungri, tunc Germani vocati sint. Ita nationis nomen non gentis evaluisse paulatim, ut omnes primum a victore ob metum, mox a se ipsis invento nomine Germani vocarentur.

III. Fuisse apud eos et Herculem memorant, primumque omnium virorum fortium ituri in proelia canunt. Sunt illis haec quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem barditum vocant, accendunt animos, futuraeque pugnae fortunam ipso cantu augurantur. Terrent enim trepidantve, prout sonuit acies, nec tam voces illae quam virtutis concentus videntur. Affectatur praecipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur obiectis ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox repercussu intumescat.

Ceterum et Ulixem quidam opinantur longo illo et

fabuloso errore in hunc Oceanum delatum adisse Germaniae terras, Asciburgiumque, quod in ripa Rheni situm hodieque incolitur, ab illo constitutum nominatumque; aram quin etiam Ulixi consecratam adiecto Laertae patris nomine eodem loco olim repertam, monumentaque et tumulos quosdam Graecis litteris inscriptos in confinio Germaniae Raetiaeque adhuc exstare. Quae neque confirmare argumentis neque refellere in animo est; ex ingenio suo quisque demat vel addat fidem.

IV. Ipse eorum opinionibus accedo, qui Germaniae populos nullis aliis aliarum nationum connubiis infectos propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem exstitisse arbitrantur. Unde habitus quoque corporum, quamquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus; truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae, magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida; laboris atque operum non eadem patientia; minimeque sitim aestumque tolerare, frigora atque inediam coelo solove assuerunt.

V. Terra, etsi aliquanto specie differt, in universum tamen aut silvis horrida aut paludibus foeda, humidior qua Gallias, ventosior qua Noricum ac Pannoniam aspicit, satis ferax, frugiferarum arborum impatiens, pecorum fecunda; sed plerumque improcera. Ne armentis quidem suus honor aut gloria frontis; numero gaudent, eaeque solae et gratissimae opes sunt. Argentum et aurum propitiine an irati dii negaverint, dubito. Nec tamen affirmaverim nullam Germaniae venam argentum aurumve gignere; quis enim scrutatus est? Possessione et usu haud perinde afficiuntur. Est videre apud illos argentea vasa, legatis et principibus eorum muneri data, non in alia vilitate quam

quae humo finguntur; quamquam proximi ob usum commerciorum aurum et argentum in pretio habent, formasque quasdam nostrae pecuniae agnoscunt atque eligunt. Interiores simplicius et antiquius permutatione mercium utuntur. Pecuniam probant veterem et diu notam, serratos bigatosque. Argentum quoque magis quam aurum sequuntur, nulla affectione animi, sed quia numerus argenteorum facilior usui est promiscua ac vilia mercantibus.

VI.—XV. *Manners and customs of the Germans. Their arms, Cavalry. Order of battle. Infamy of cowardice. Powers of the king, of the general, and the priest. Courage and sacred character of the women. Their gods and mode of worship. Divination from birds, horses, and single combat. Deliberations of the chiefs and of the people. Modes of punishment. The chiefs' retinue. Preference of war to agriculture. Love of the chase. Presents made to the chiefs.*

VI. Ne ferrum quidem superest, sicut ex genere telorum colligitur. Rari gladiis aut maioribus lanceis utuntur. Hastas vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas gerunt angusto et brevi ferro sed ita acri et ad usum habili, ut eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel cominus vel eminus pugnent. Et eques quidem scuto frameaque contentus est; pedites et missilia spargunt, pluraque singuli atque in immensum vibrant nudi aut sagulo leves. Nulla cultus iactatio; scuta tantum lectissimis coloribus distinguunt. Paucis loricae, vix uni alterive cassis aut galea. Equi non forma, non velocitate conspicui; sed nec variare gyros in morem nostrum docentur; in rectum, aut uno flexu dextros agunt, ita coniuncto orbe, ut nemo posterior sit. In

universum aestimanti plus penes peditem roboris, eoque misti proeliantur, apta et congruente ad equestrem pugnam velocitate peditum, quos ex omni iuventute delectos ante aciem locant. Definitur et numerus; centeni ex singulis pagis sunt, idque ipsum inter suos vocantur, et quod primo numerus fuit, iam nomen et honor est. Acies per cuneos componitur. Cedere loco, dummodo rursus instes, consilii quam formidinis arbitrantur. Corpora suorum etiam in dubiis proeliis referunt. Scutum reliquisse praecipuum flagitium, nec aut sacris adesse aut concilium inire ignominioso fas, multique superstites bellorum infamiam laqueo finierunt.

VII. Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt. Nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas, et duces exemplo potius quam imperio, si prompti, si conspicui, si ante aciem agant, admiratione praesunt. Ceterum neque animadvertere neque vincire, ne verberare quidem nisi sacerdotibus permissum, non quasi in poenam nec ducis iussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt; effigiesque et signa quaedam detracta lucis in proelium ferunt. Quodque praecipuum fortitudinis incitamentum est, non casus, neque fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiae et propinquitates; et in proximo pignora, unde feminarum ululatus audiri, unde vagitus infantium. Hi cuique sanctissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores. Ad matres, ad coniuges vulnera ferunt; nec illae numerare aut exigere plagas pavent, cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus gestant.

VIII. Memoriae proditur quasdam acies inclinatas iam et labantes a feminis restitutas constantia precum et obiectu pectorum et monstrata cominus

captivitate, quam longe impatientius feminarum suarum nomine timent, adeo, ut efficacius obligentur animi civitatum, quibus inter obsides puellae quoque nobiles imperantur. Inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant, nec aut consilia earum aspernantur, aut responsa negligunt. Vidimus sub divo Vespasiano Veledam, diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam. Sed et olim Albrunam et complures alias venerati sunt, non adulatione, nec tamquam facerent deas.

IX. Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent. [Herculem] ac Martem concessis animalibus placant. Pars Suevorum et Isidi sacrificat. Unde causa et origo peregrino sacro, parum comperi, nisi quod signum ipsum in modum Liburnae figuratum docet advectam religionem. Ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimulare ex magnitudine coelestium arbitrantur. Lucos ac nemora consecrant, deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident.

X. Auspicia sortesque, ut qui maxime, observant. Sortium consuetudo simplex. Virgam frugiferae arbori decisam in surculos amputant, eosque notis quibusdam discretos super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt. Mox, si publice consuletur, sacerdos civitatis, sin privatim, ipse pater familiae precatus deos coelumque suspiciens ter singulos tollit, sublatos secundum impressam ante notam interpretatur. Si prohibuerunt, nulla de eadem re in eundem diem consultatio; sin permissum, auspiciorum adhuc fides exigitur. Et illud quidem etiam hic notum, avium voces volatusque interrogare. Proprium gentis

equorum quoque praesagia ac monitus experiri. Publice aluntur iisdem memoribus ac lucis, candidi et nullo mortali opere contacti, quos pressos sacro curru sacerdos ac rex vel princeps civitatis comitantur, hinnitusque ac fremitus observant. Nec ulli auspicio maior fides, non solum apud plebem, sed apud proceres, apud sacerdotes; se enim ministros deorum, illos conscios putant. Est et alia observatio auspiciorum, qua gravium bellorum eventus explorant. Eius gentis, cum qua bellum est, captivum quoquo modo interceptum cum electo popularium suorum patriis quemque armis committunt. Victoria huius vel illius pro praeiudicio accipitur.

XI. De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de maioribus omnes, ita tamen, ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud principes pertractentur. Coeunt, nisi quid fortuitum et subitum incidit, certis diebus, quum aut inchoatur luna aut impletur; nam agendis rebus hoc auspicatissimum initium credunt. Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant; sic constituunt, sic condicunt; nox ducere diem videtur. Illud ex libertate vitium, quod non simul, nec ut iussi conveniunt, sed et alter et tertius dies cunctatione coeuntium absumitur. Ut turbae placuit, considunt armati. Silentium per sacerdotes, quibus tum et coercendi ius est, imperatur. Mox rex vel princeps, prout aetas cuique, prout nobilitas, prout decus bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur, auctoritate suadendi magis quam iubendi potestate. Si displicuit sententia, fremitu aspernantur; sin placuit, frameas concutiunt. Honoratissimum assensus genus est armis laudare.

XII. Licet apud concilium accusare quoque, et

discrimen capitis intendere. Distinctio poenarum ex delicto. Proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt, ignavos et imbelles et corpore infames coeno ac palude iniecta insuper crate mergunt. Diversitas supplicii illuc respicit, tamquam scelera ostendi oporteat, dum puniuntur, flagitia abscondi. Sed et levioribus delictis pro modo poena; equorum pecorumque numero convicti mulctantur. Pars mulctae regi vel civitati, pars ipsi, qui vindicatur, vel propinquis eius exsolvitur. Eliguntur in iisdem conciliis et principes, qui iura per pagos vicosque reddunt. Centeni singulis ex plebe comites consilium simul et auctoritas adsunt.

XIII. Nihil autem neque publicae neque privatae rei nisi armati agunt. Sed arma sumere non ante cuiquam moris quam civitas suffecturum probaverit. Tum in ipso concilio vel principum aliquis vel pater vel propinqui scuto frameaque iuvenem ornant. Haec apud illos toga, hic primus iuventae honos; ante hoc domus pars videntur, mox rei publicae. Insignis nobilitas aut magna patrum merita principis dignationem etiam adolescentulis assignant. Ceteris robustioribus ac iam pridem probatis aggregantur, nec rubor inter comites aspici. Gradus quin etiam comitatus habet iudicio eius, quem sectantur, magnaque et comitum aemulatio, quibus primus apud principem suum locus, et principum, cui plurimi et acerrimi comites. Haec dignitas, hae vires; magno semper electorum iuvenum globo circumdari in pace decus, in bello praesidium. Nec solum in sua gente cuique, sed apud finitimas quoque civitates id nomen, ea gloria est, si numero ac virtute comitatus emineat. Expetuntur enim legationibus, et muneribus ornantur, et ipsa plerumque fama bella profligant.

XIV. Quum ventum in aciem, turpe principi virtute vinci, turpe comitatui virtutem principis non adaequare. Iam vero infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse. Illum defendere, tueri, sua quoque fortia facta gloriae eius assignare praecipuum sacramentum est. Principes pro victoria pugnant, comites pro principe. Si civitas, in qua orti sunt, longa pace et otio torpeat, plerique nobilium adolescentium petunt ultro eas nationes, quae tum bellum aliquod gerunt, quia et ingrata genti quies, et facilius inter ancipitia clarescunt, magnumque comitatum non nisi vi belloque tuentur. Exigunt enim principis sui liberalitate illum bellatorem equum, illam cruentam victricemque frameam. Nam epulae, et quamquam incompti largi tamen apparatus, pro stipendio cedunt. Materia munificentiae per bella et raptus. Nec arare terram aut exspectare annum tam facile persuaseris quam vocare hostem et vulnera mereri. Pigrum quin immo et iners videtur sudore acquirere, quod possis sanguine parare.

XV. Quotiens bella non ineunt, multum venatibus, plus per otium transigunt dediti somno ciboque, fortissimus quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens, delegata domus et penatium et agrorum cura feminis senibusque et infirmissimo cuique ex familia; ipsi hebent, mira diversitate naturae, quum iidem homines sic ament inertiam et oderint quietem. Mos est civitatibus ultro ac viritim conferre principibus vel armentorum vel frugum, quod pro honore acceptum etiam necessitatibus subvenit. Gaudent praecipue finitimarum gentium donis, quae non modo a singulis, sed publice mittuntur, electi equi, magna arma, phalerae torquesque. Iam et pecuniam accipere docuimus.

XVI.—XXVII. *German villages. Subterranean dwellings. Dress. Marriage rites. Chastity of the women. Punishment of adultery. Training of the children. Feuds. Homicide; how expiated. Hospitality. Riotous character of their banquets. Their food—love of drink. Sports—addiction to gambling. Slaves—contempt for freedmen. Lending on interest unknown. Occupation and tillage of the land. Funeral rites.*

XVI. Nullas Germanorum populis urbes habitari satis notum est, ne pati quidem inter se iunctas sedes. Colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit. Vicos locant non in nostrum morem connexis et cohaerentibus aedificiis; suam quisque domum spatio circumdat, sive adversus casus ignis remedium, sive inscitia aedificandi. Ne caementorum quidem apud illos aut tegularum usus; materia ad omnia utuntur informi et citra speciem aut delectationem. Quaedam loca diligentius illinunt terra ita pura ac splendente, ut picturam ac lineamenta colorum imitetur. Solent et subterraneos specus aperire, eosque multo insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemi et receptaculum frugibus, quia rigorem frigorum eiusmodi locis molliunt, et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa aut ignorantur, aut eo ipso fallunt, quod quaerenda sunt.

XVII. Tegumen omnibus sagum fibula aut, si desit, spina consertum. Cetera intecti totos dies iuxta focum atque ignem agunt. Locupletissimi veste distinguuntur, non fluitante, sicut Sarmatae ac Parthi, sed stricta et singulos artus exprimente. Gerunt et ferarum pelles, proximi ripae negligenter, ulteriores exquisitius, ut quibus nullus per commercia cultus.

Eligunt feras, et detracta velamina spargunt maculis pellibusque beluarum, quas exterior Oceanus atque ignotum mare gignit. Nec alius feminis quam viris habitus, nisi quod feminae saepius lineis amictibus velantur, eosque purpura variant, partemque vestitus superioris in manicas non extendunt, nudae brachia ac lacertos; sed et proxima pars pectoris patet.

XVIII. Quamquam severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris. Nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine, sed ob nobilitatem plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur. Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus offert. Intersunt parentes et propinqui ac munera probant, munera, non ad delicias muliebres quaesita, nec quibus nova nupta comatur, sed boves, et frenatum equum, et scutum cum framea gladioque. In haec munera uxor accipitur, atque invicem ipsa armorum aliquid viro affert. Hoc maximum vinculum, haec arcana sacra, hos coniugales deos arbitrantur. Ne se mulier extra virtutum cogitationes extraque bellorum casus putet, ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis admonetur venire se laborum periculorumque sociam, idem in pace, idem in proelio passuram ausuramque. Hoc iuncti boves, hoc paratus equus, hoc data arma denuntiant; sic vivendum, sic pereundum; accipere se, quae liberis inviolata ac digna reddat, quae nurus accipiant rursusque ad nepotes referantur.

XIX. Ergo septa pudicitia agunt, nullis spectaculorum illecebris, nullis conviviorum irritationibus corruptae. Litterarum secreta viri pariter ac feminae ignorant. Paucissima in tam numerosa gente adulteria, quorem poena praesens, et maritis permissa.

Accisis crinibus, nudatam, coram propinquis expellit domo maritus, ac per omnem vicum verbere agit. Publicatae enim pudicitiae nulla venia; non forma, non aetate, non opibus maritum invenerit. Nemo enim illic vitia ridet, nec corrumpere et corrumpi seculum vocatur. Melius quidem adhuc eae civitates, in quibus tantum virgines nubunt, et cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur. Sic unum accipiunt maritum, quomodo unum corpus unamque vitam, ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tamquam maritum, sed tamquam matrimonium ament. Numerum liberorum finire aut quemquam ex agnatis necare flagitium habetur, plusque ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonae leges.

XX. In omni domo nudi ac sordidi in hos artus, in haec corpora, quae miramur, excrescunt. Sua quemque mater uberibus alit, nec ancillis aut nutricibus delegantur. Dominum ac servum nullis educationis deliciis dignoscas; inter eadem pecora, in eadem humo degunt, donec aetas separet ingenuos, virtus agnoscat. Sera iuvenum venus, eoque inexhausta pubertas. Nec virgines festinantur; eadem iuventa, similis proceritas; pares validaeque miscentur, ac robora parentum liberi referunt. Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum, qui apud patrem honor. Quidam sanctiorem artioremque hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur, et in accipiendis obsidibus magis exigunt, tamquam et animum firmius et domum latius teneant. Heredes tamen successoresque sui cuique liberi, et nullum testamentum. Si liberi non sunt, proximus gradus in possessione fratres, patrui, avunculi. Quanto plus propinquorum, quo maior affinium numerus, tanto gratiosior senectus, nec ulla orbitatis pretia.

XXI. Suscipere tam inimicitias seu patris seu propinqui quam amicitias necesse est. Nec implacabiles durant; luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero, recipitque satisfactionem universa domus, utiliter in publicum, quia periculosiores sunt inimicitiae iuxta libertatem. Convictibus et hospitiis non alia gens effusius indulget. Quemcunque mortalium arcere tecto nefas habetur; pro fortuna quisque apparatis epulis excipit. Quum defecere, qui modo hospes fuerat, monstrator hospitii et comes; proximam domum non invitati adeunt; nec interest; pari humanitate accipiuntur; notum ignotumque quantum ad ius hospitis nemo discernit. Abeunti, si quid poposcerit, concedere moris, et poscendi invicem eadem facilitas. Gaudent muneribus, sed nec data imputant nec acceptis obligantur. Victus inter hospites comis.

XXII. Statim e somno, quem plerumque in diem extrahunt, lavantur, saepius calida, ut apud quos plurimum hiems occupat. Lauti cibum capiunt; separatae singulis sedes et sua cuique mensa. Tum ad negotia nec minus saepe ad convivia procedunt armati. Diem noctemque continuare potando nulli probrum. Crebrae, ut inter vinolentos, rixae raro conviciis, saepius caede et vulneribus transiguntur. Sed et de reconciliandis invicem inimicis et iungendis affinitatibus et asciscendis principibus, de pace denique ac bello plerumque in conviviis consultant, tamquam nullo magis tempore aut ad simplices cogitationes pateat animus, aut ad magnas incalescat. Gens non astuta nec callida aperit adhuc secreta pectoris licentia ioci. Ergo detecta et nuda omnium mens; postera die retractatur, et salva utriusque temporis ratio est;

deliberant, dum fingere nesciunt, constituunt, dum errare non possunt.

XXIII. Potui humor ex hordeo aut frumento, in quamdam similitudinem vini corruptus; proximi ripae et vinum mercantur. Cibi simplices, agrestia poma, recens fera, aut lac concretum. Sine apparatu, sine blandimentis expellunt famem. Adversus sitim non eadem temperantia. Si indulseris ebrietati suggerendo quantum concupiscunt, haud minus facile vitiis quam armis vincentur.

XXIV. Genus spectaculorum unum atque in omni coetu idem. Nudi iuvenes, quibus id ludicrum est, inter gladios se atque infestas frameas saltu iaciunt. Exercitatio artem paravit, ars decorem, non in quaestum tamen aut mercedem; quamvis audacis lasciviae pretium est voluptas spectantium.

Aleam, quod mirere, sobrii inter seria exercent tanta lucrandi perdendive temeritate, ut, quum omnia defecerunt, extremo ac novissimo iactu de libertate ac de corpore contendant. Victus voluntariam servitutem adit; quamvis iuvenior, quamvis robustior alligari se ac venire patitur. Ea est in re prava pervicacia; ipsi fidem vocant. Servos condicionis huius per commercia tradunt, ut se quoque pudore victoriae exsolvant.

XXV. Ceteris servis non in nostrum morem descriptis per familiam ministeriis utuntur. Suam quisque sedem, suos penates regit. Frumenti modum dominus aut pecoris aut vestis ut colono iniungit, et servus hactenus paret; cetera domus officia uxor ac liberi exsequuntur. Verberare servum ac vinculis et opere coercere rarum; occidere solent, non disciplina et severitate, sed impetu et ira, ut inimicum, nisi

quod impune. Liberti non multum supra servos sunt; raro aliquod momentum in domo, numquam in civitate, exceptis dumtaxat iis gentibus, quae regnantur; ibi enim et super ingenuos et super nobiles ascendunt. Apud ceteros impares libertini libertatis argumentum sunt.

XXVI. Fenus agitare et in usuras extendere ignotum, ideoque magis servatur quam si vetitum esset. Agri pro numero cultorum ab universis in vices occupantur, quos mox inter se secundum dignationem partiuntur. Facilitatem partiendi camporum spatia praestant. Arva per annos mutant, et superest ager. Nec enim cum ubertate et amplitudine soli labore contendunt, ut pomaria conserant, et prata separent, et hortos rigent; sola terrae seges imperatur. Unde annum quoque ipsum non in totidem digerunt species; hiems et ver et aestas intellectum ac vocabula habent, autumni perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur.

XXVII. Funerum nulla ambitio. Id solum observatur, ut corpora clarorum virorum certis lignis crementur. Struem rogi nec vestibus nec odoribus cumulant; sua cuique arma, quorundam igni et equus adiicitur. Sepulcrum caespes erigit; monumentorum arduum et operosum honorem ut gravem defunctis aspernantur. Lamenta ac lacrimas cito, dolorem et tristitiam tarde ponunt. Feminis lugere honestum est, viris meminisse.

Haec in commune de omnium Germanorum origine ac moribus accepimus. Nunc singularum gentium instituta ritusque, quatenus differant, quae nationes e Germania in Gallias commigraverint, expediam.

XXVIII. XXIX. *Tribes in the neighbourhood of the*

Rhine and Main. Some of these of doubtful nationality. The Batavi. Inhabitants of the Tithe-lands.

XXVIII. Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse summus auctor divus Iulius tradit; eoque credibile est etiam Gallos in Germaniam transgressos. Quantulum enim amnis obstabat, quo minus, ut quaeque gens evaluerat, occuparet permutaretque sedes promiscuas adhuc et nulla regnorum potentia divisas? Igitur inter Hercyniam sylvam Rhenumque et Moenum amnes Helvetii, ulteriora Boii, Gallica utraque gens, tenuere. Manet adhuc Boihemi nomen, signatque loci veterem memoriam, quamvis mutatis cultoribus. Sed utrum Aravisci in Pannoniam ab Osis, Germanorum natione, an Osi ab Araviscis in Germaniam commigraverint, quum eodem adhuc sermone, institutis, moribus utantur, incertum est, quia pari olim inopia ac libertate eadem utriusque ripae bona malaque erant. Treveri et Nervii circa affectationem Germanicae originis ultro ambitiosi sunt, tamquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis a similitudine et inertia Gallorum separentur. Ipsam Rheni ripam haud dubie Germanorum populi colunt, Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes. Ne Ubii quidem, quamquam Romana colonia esse meruerint, ac libentius Agrippinenses conditoris sui nomine vocentur, origine erubescunt, transgressi olim et experimento fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam collocati ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur.

XXIX. Omnium harum gentium virtute praecipui Batavi non multum ex ripa sed insulam Rheni amnis colunt, Chattorum quondam populus, et seditione domestica in eas sedes transgressus, in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent. Manet honos et antiquae societatis insigne. Nam nec tributis contem-

nuntur, nec publicanus atterit; exempti oneribus et collationibus et tantum in usum proeliorum sepositi velut tela atque arma bellis reservantur. Est in eodem obsequio et Mattiacorum gens. Protulit enim magnitudo populi Romani ultra Rhenum ultraque veteres terminos imperii reverentiam. Ita sede finibusque in sua ripa, mente animoque nobiscum agunt, cetera similes Batavis, nisi quod ipso adhuc terrae suae solo et coelo acrius animantur. Non numeraverim inter Germaniae populos, quamquam trans Rhenum Danubiumque consederint, eos, qui decumates agros exercent. Levissimus quisque Gallorum et inopia audax dubiae possessionis solum occupavere. Mox limite acto promotisque praesidiis sinus imperii et pars provinciae habentur.

XXX.—XXXVII. *Northern tribes to the west of the Elbe. The Chatti; their fierce and warlike character. The Frisii. Roman expeditions into their territory. Chauci, Cherusci, Cimbri. Roman wars in Germany.*

XXX. Ultra hos Chatti initium sedis ab Hercynio saltu inchoant, non ita effusis ac palustribus locis, ut ceterae civitates, in quas Germania patescit; durant siquidem colles, paulatim rarescunt, et Chattos suos saltus Hercynius prosequitur simul atque deponit. Duriora genti corpora, stricti artus, minax vultus et maior animi vigor. Multum, ut inter Germanos, rationis ac sollertiae; praeponere electos, audire praepositos, nosse ordines, intelligere occasiones, differre impetus, disponere diem, vallare noctem, fortunam inter dubia, virtutem inter certa numerare, quodque rarissimum nec nisi Romanae disciplinae

concessum, plus reponere in duce quam in exërcitu. Omne robur in pedite, quem super arma ferramentis quoque et copiis onerant. Alios ad proelium ire videas, Chattos ad bellum; rari excursus et fortuita pugna; equestrium sane virium id proprium, cito parare victoriam, cito cedere; velocitas iuxta formidinem, cunctatio propior constantiae est.

XXXI. Et aliis Germanorum populis usurpatum raro et privata cuiusque audentia apud Chattos in consensum vertit, ut primum adoleverint, crinem barbamque summittere, nec nisi hoste caeso exuere votivum obligatumque virtuti oris habitum. Super sanguinem et spolia revelant frontem, seque tum demum pretia nascendi retulisse dignosque patria ac parentibus ferunt. Ignavis et imbellibus manet squalor. Fortissimus quisque ferreum insuper anulum (ignominiosum id genti) velut vinculum gestat, donec se caede hostis absolvat. Plurimis Chattorum hic placet habitus, iamque canent insignes et hostibus simul suisque monstrati. Omnium penes hos initia pugnarum; haec prima semper acies, visu nova; nam ne in pace quidem vultu mitiore mansuescunt. Nulli domus aut ager aut aliqua cura; prout ad quemque venere, aluntur, prodigi alieni, contemptores sui, donec exsanguis senectus tam durae virtuti impares faciat.

XXXII. Proximi Chattis certum iam alveo Rhenum, quique terminus esse sufficiat, Usipii ac Tencteri colunt. Tencteri super solitum bellorum decus equestris disciplinae arte praecellunt, nec maior apud Chattos peditum laus quam Tencteris equitum. Sic instituere maiores; posteri imitantur. Hi lusus infantium, haec iuvenum aemulatio; perseverant senes. Inter familiam et penates et iura successionum equi

traduntur; excipit filius non, ut cetera, maximus natu, sed prout ferox bello et melior.

XXXIII. Iuxta Tencteros Bructeri olim occurrebant; nunc Chamavos et Angrivarios immigrasse narratur, pulsis Bructeris ac penitus excisis vicinarum consensu nationum seu superbiae odio, seu praedae dulcedine, seu favore quodam erga nos deorum; nam ne spectaculo quidem proelii invidere. Super sexaginta milia non armis telisque Romanis, sed, quod magnificentius est, oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt. Maneat, quaeso, duretque gentibus, si non amor nostri, at certe odium sui, quando urgentibus imperii fatis nihil iam praestare Fortuna maius potest quam hostium discordiam.

XXXIV. Angrivarios et Chamavos a tergo Dulgibini et Chasuarii cludunt, aliaeque gentes haud perinde memoratae; a fronte Frisii excipiunt. Maioribus minoribusque Frisiis vocabulum est ex modo virium. Utraeque nationes usque ad Oceanum Rheno praetexuntur, ambiuntque immensos insuper lacus et Romanis classibus navigatos. Ipsum quin etiam Oceanum illa tentavimus, et superesse adhuc Herculis columnas fama vulgavit, sive adiit Hercules, seu, quicquid ubique magnificum est, in claritatem eius referre consensimus. Nec defuit audentia Druso Germanico, sed obstitit Oceanus in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri. Mox nemo tentavit, sanctiusque ac reverentius visum de actis deorum credere quam scire.

XXXV. Hactenus in occidentem Germaniam novimus. In septentrionem ingenti flexu redit. Ac primo statim Chaucorum gens, quamquam incipiat a Frisiis ac partem litoris occupet, omnium, quas exposui, gentium lateribus obtenditur, donec in Chattos

usque sinuetur. Tam immensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantum Chauci, sed et implent, populus inter Germanos nobilissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit iustitia tueri. Sine cupiditate, sine impotentia, quieti secretique nulla provocant bella, nullis raptibus aut latrociniis populantur. Id praecipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est, quod, ut superiores agant, non per iniurias assequuntur. Prompta tamen omnibus arma, ac, si res poscat, exercitus, plurimum virorum equorumque; et quiescentibus eadem fama.

XXXVI. In latere Chaucorum Chattorumque Cherusci nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem illacessiti nutrierunt, idque iucundius quam tutius fuit, quia inter impotentes et validos falso quiescas; ubi manu agitur, modestia ac probitas nomina superioris sunt. Ita qui olim boni aequique Cherusci, nunc inertes ac stulti vocantur, Chattis victoribus fortuna in sapientiam cessit. Tracti ruina Cheruscorum et Fosi, contermina gens; adversarum rerum ex aequo socii sunt, quum in secundis minores fuissent.

XXXVII. Eundem Germaniae sinum proximi Oceano Cimbri tenent, parva nunc civitas, sed gloria ingens. Veterisque famae lata vestigia manent, utraque ripa castra ac spatia, quorum ambitu nunc quoque metiaris molem manusque gentis et tam magni exitus fidem. Sexcentesimum et quadragesimum annum urbs nostra agebat, quum primum Cimbrorum audita sunt arma Caecilio Metello ac Papirio Carbone coss. Ex quo si ad alterum imperatoris Traiani consulatum computemus, ducenti ferme et decem anni colliguntur. Tamdiu Germania vincitur. Medio tam longi aevi spatio multa invicem damna.

Non Samnis, non Poeni, non Hispaniae Galliaeve, ne Parthi quidem saepius admonuere. Quippe regno Arsacis acrior est Germanorum libertas. Quid enim aliud nobis quam caedem Crassi, amisso et ipse Pacoro infra Ventidium deiectus oriens obiecerit? At Germani Carbone et Cassio, et Scauro Aurelio, et Servilio Caepione, Marco quoque Manlio fusis vel captis quinque simul consulares exercitus populo Romano, Varum trisque cum eo legiones etiam Caesari abstulerunt; nec impune C. Marius in Italia, divus Iulius in Gallia, Drusus ac Nero et Germanicus in suis eos sedibus perculerunt. Mox ingentes C. Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae. Inde otium, donec occasione discordiae nostrae et civilium armorum expugnatis legionum hibernis etiam Gallias affectavere, ac rursus inde pulsi proximis temporibus triumphati magis quam victi sunt.

XXXVIII.—XLV. *Suevic tribes, between the Elbe and Vistula. Peculiarity which distinguishes the Suevi from the other Germans. The Semnones, the most ancient and famous of these tribes; their religious rites and sacred groves. The Longobardi. Worship of the Earth. Suevic tribes along the Danube. Hermunduri, Marcomanni, Quadi. Worship resembling that of Castor and Pollux among the Nahanarvali. The Harii, their extreme ferocity. The Gothones. The Suiones, a maritime tribe. Seas beyond the Suiones. The Aestii—amber found in their country; its nature and properties. The Sitones.*

XXXVIII. Nunc de Suevis dicendum est, quorum non una, ut Chattorum Tencterorumve, gens; maiorem enim Germaniae partem obtinent, propriis adhuc nationibus nominibusque discreti,

quamquam in commune Suevi vocentur. Insigne gentis obliquare crinem nodoque substringere. Sic Suevi a ceteris Germanis, sic Suevorum ingenui a servis separantur. In aliis gentibus, (seu cognatione aliqua Suevorum, seu, quod saepe accidit, imitatione,) rarum et intra iuventae spatium, apud Suevos usque ad canitiem horrentem capillum retro sequuntur, ac saepe in ipso solo vertice religant. Principes et ornatiorem habent. Ea cura formae, sed innoxiae; neque enim ut ament amenturve,—in altitudinem quandam et terrorem adituri bella compti, ut hostium oculis, ornantur.

XXXIX. Vetustissimos se nobilissimosque Suevorum Semnones memorant. Fides antiquitatis religione firmatur. Stato tempore in silvam auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram omnes eiusdem sanguinis populi legationibus coeunt, caesoque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia. Est et alia luco reverentia; nemo nisi vinculo ligatus ingreditur, ut minor et potestatem numinis prae se ferens. Si forte prolapsus est, attolli et insurgere haud licitum; per humum evolvuntur. Eoque omnis superstitio respicit, tamquam inde initia gentis, ibi regnator omnium deus, cetera subiecta atque parentia. Adiicit auctoritatem fortuna Semnonum; centum pagi iis habitantur, magnoque corpore efficitur, ut se Suevorum caput credant.

XL. Contra Longobardos paucitas nobilitat; plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti non per obsequium, sed proeliis et periclitando tuti sunt. Reudigni deinde et Aviones et Angli et Varini et Eudoses et Suardones et Nuithones fluminibus aut silvis muniuntur. Nec quicquam notabile in singulis, nisi quod in commune Nerthum, id est Terram matrem,

colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehi populis arbitrantur. Est in insula Oceani castum nemus, dicatumque in eo vehiculum, veste contectum. Attingere uni sacerdoti concessum. Is adesse penetrali deam intelligit, vectamque bubus feminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur. Laeti tunc dies, festa loca, quaecunque adventu hospitioque dignatur. Non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt; clausum omne ferrum; pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium deam templo reddat. Mox vehiculum et vestes et, si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. Servi ministrant, quos statim idem lacus haurit. Arcanus hinc terror sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud, quod tantum perituri vident.

XLI. Et haec quidem pars Suevorum in secretiora Germaniae porrigitur. Propior, (ut, quomodo paulo ante Rhenum, sic nunc Danubium sequar,) Hermundurorum civitas, fida Romanis; eoque solis Germanorum non in ripa commercium, sed penitus atque in splendidissima Raetiae provinciae colonia. Passim et sine custode transeunt, et quum ceteris gentibus arma modo castraque nostra ostendamus, his domos villasque patefecimus non concupiscentibus. In Hermunduris Albis oritur, flumen inclitum et notum olim; nunc tantum auditur.

XLII. Iuxta Hermunduros Naristi ac deinde Marcomani et Quadi agunt. Praecipua Marcomanorum gloria viresque, atque ipsa etiam sedes, pulsis olim Boiis, virtute parta. Nec Naristi Quadive degenerant. Eaque Germaniae velut frons est, quatenus Danubio peragitur. Marcomanis Quadisque usque ad nostram memoriam reges manserunt ex gente ipsorum,

nobile Marobodui et Tudri genus. Iam et externos patiuntur; sed vis et potentia regibus ex auctoritate Romana. Raro armis nostris, saepius pecunia iuvantur, nec minus valent.

XLIII. Retro Marsigni, Gothini, Osi, Buri terga Marcomanorum Quadorumque claudunt. E quibus Marsigni et Buri sermone cultuque Suevos referunt; Gothinos Gallica, Osos Pannonica lingua coarguit non esse Germanos, et quod tributa patiuntur. Partem tributorum Sarmatae, partem Quadi ut alienigenis imponunt. Gothini, quo magis pudeat, et ferrum effodiunt, omnesque hi populi pauca campestrium, ceterum saltus et vertices montium iugumque insederunt. Dirimit enim scinditque Sueviam continuum montium iugum, ultra quod plurimae gentes agunt. Ex quibus latissime patet Ligiorum nomen in plures civitates diffusum. Valentissimas nominasse sufficiet, Harios, Helveconas, Manimos, Elisios, Nahanarvalos. Apud Nahanarvalos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur. Praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu; sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant; ea vis numini, nomen Alcis. Nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinae superstitionis vestigium; ut fratres tamen, ut iuvenes venerantur. Ceterum Harii super vires, quibus enumeratos paulo ante populos antecedunt, truces insitae feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur. Nigra scuta, tincta corpora; atras ad proelia noctes legunt, ipsaque formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum aspectum; nam primi in omnibus proeliis oculi vincuntur. Trans Ligios Gothones regnantur, paulo iam adductius quam ceterae Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra

libertatem. Protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii et Lemovii, omniumque harum gentium insigne rotunda scuta, breves gladii et erga reges obsequium.

XLIV. Suionum hinc civitates ipso in Oceano praeter viros armaque classibus valent. Forma navium eo differt, quod utrimque prora paratam semper appulsui frontem agit. Nec velis ministrantur, nec remos in ordinem lateribus adiungunt; solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum, et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium. Est apud illos et opibus honos, eoque unus imperitat, nullis iam exceptionibus, non precario iure parendi. Nec arma, ut apud ceteros Germanos, in promiscuo, sed clausa sub custode, et quidem servo, quia subitos hostium incursus prohibet Oceanus, otiosa porro armatorum manus facile lasciviunt. Enimvero neque nobilem neque ingenuum, ne libertinum quidem armis praeponere regia utilitas est.

XLV. Trans Suionas aliud mare, pigrum ac prope immotum, quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem hinc fides, quod extremus cadentis iam solis fulgor in ortus edurat adeo clarus, ut sidera hebetet. Sonum insuper emergentis audiri, formasque deorum et radios capitis aspici persuasio adiicit. Illuc usque (et fama vera) tantum natura. Ergo iam dextro Suevici maris litore Aestiorum gentes alluuntur, quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum, lingua Britannicae propior. Matrem deum venerantur; insigne superstitionis formas aprorum gestant. Id pro armis omniumque tutela securum deae cultorem etiam inter hostes praestat. Rarus ferri, frequens fustium usus. Frumenta ceterosque fructus patientius quam pro solita Germanorum inertia laborant. Sed et mare scrutantur,

ac soli omnium sucinum, quod ipsi glesum vocant, inter vada atque in ipso littore legunt. Nec quae natura, quaeve ratio gignat, ut barbaris, quaesitum compertumve; diu quin etiam inter cetera eiectamenta maris iacebat, donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen. Ipsis in nullo usu; rude legitur, informe perfertur, pretiumque mirantes accipiunt. Sucum tamen arborum esse intelligas, quia terrena quaedam atque etiam volucria animalia plerumque interlucent, quae implicata humore mox durescente materia cluduntur. Fecundiora igitur nemora lucosque, sicut orientis secretis, ubi tura balsamaque sudant, ita occidentis insulis terrisque inesse crediderim, quae vicini solis radiis expressa atque liquentia in proximum mare labuntur, ac vi tempestatum in adversa litora exundant. Si naturam sucini admoto igne tentes, in modum taedae accenditur, alitque flammam pinguem et olentem; mox ut in picem resinamve lentescit. Suionibus Sitonum gentes continuantur. Cetera similes uno differunt, quod femina dominatur. In tantum non modo a libertate, sed etiam a servitute degenerant. Hic Sueviae finis.

XLVI. *Tribes of doubtful nationality about the Vistula. The Peucini, Veneti, Fenni. Savage and miserable life of the Fenni. Fabulous tribes.*

XLVI. Peucinorum Venetorumque et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis ascribam, dubito, quamquam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone, cultu, sede ac domiciliis ut Germani agunt. Sordes omnium, ac torpor procerum; connubiis mistis nonnihil in Sarmatarum habitum foedantur.

Veneti multum ex moribus traxerunt; nam quic-

quid inter Peucinos Fennosque silvarum ac montium erigitur, latrociniis pererrant. Hi tamen inter Germanos potius referuntur, quia et domos figunt, et scuta gestant, et pedum usu ac pernicitate gaudent, quae omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt in plaustro equoque viventibus. Fennis mira feritas, foeda paupertas; non arma, non equi, non penates; victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus; solae in sagittis spes, quas inopia ferri ossibus asperant. Idemque venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit; passim enim comitantur, partemque praedae petunt. Nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque suffugium, quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur. Huc redeunt iuvenes, hoc senum receptaculum. Sed beatius arbitrantur quam ingemere agris, illaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare. Securi adversus homines, securi adversus deos rem difficillimam assecuti sunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus esset. Cetera iam fabulosa, Hellusios et Oxionas ora hominum vultusque, corpora atque artus ferarum gerere. Quod ego ut incompertum in medium relinquam.

NOTES.

CHAPTER I.

1. **Germania omnis.]** Germany proper, or beyond the Rhine, as opposed to the provinces of Upper and Lower Germany (Germania Prima and Secunda) on the left of the Rhine. Comp. Caesar, *B. G.* I. 1, where *Gallia omnis* denotes Gaul in contradistinction to the *province* of Gaul.

2. **Mutuo metu.]** With this expression Lipsius compares Thucyd. III. 11, τὸ ἀντίπαλον δέος.

3. **Montibus.]** The Carpathian range.

4. **Oceanus.]** The German ocean and the Baltic which in Ch. 45 is called *Suevicum mare.*

5. **Latos sinus.]** *Sinus* may mean either a gulf or a peninsula. *Here* it means the latter. Compare its use, Ch. 29, *sinus* imperii; and Ch. 37, eundem Germaniae *sinum* proximi Oceano Cimbri tenent. Tacitus expresses himself more definitely, Ch. 35, in septentrionem ingenti flexu redit (Germania). By 'latos sinus' and 'ingenti flexu' he means the Cimbric Chersonesus, sc. Jutland and Sleswick-Holstein.

6. **Insularum immensa spatia.]** The islands in the Baltic, Zealand, Funen, &c., and also Norway and Sweden. These regions were the seat of the Suiones (Ch. 44). Comp. Pliny, *H. N.* II. 112: Nam et in Germania immensas *insulas*, non pridem compertas, cognitum habeo.

7. **Nuper cognitis...regibus.]** Expeditions were undertaken into Germany by Claudius Nero Drusus (the brother of the Emperor Tiberius) B.C. 12, and by his son, the famous Germanicus, A.D. 15 and 16, who completely defeated the Germans on the Weser. Of this last expedition (to which here and Ch. 33 there is special allusion) Tacitus gives us an account, *Ann.* II. 8—24. Pliny, *H. N.* IV. 27, says that these campaigns led to the discovery of as many as twenty-three islands.

The ablatives, 'cognitis...regibus,' define the locality of the

sinus and insularum spatia just mentioned, and may be rendered, 'where have lately become known to us.'

8. **Quos bellum aperuit.]** Comp. *Agr.* 22: Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes *aperuit*.

9. **Modico flexu.]** Meaning the bend which the Rhine makes near Arnheim.

10. **Versus.]** A participle, not a preposition as taken by Ernesti.

11. **Molli.]** 'Gently sloping.' So Ritter, and Orelli who compares Virg. *Ec.* IX. 7, Qua se subducere colles Incipiunt *mollique* jugum demittere clivo. This seems a more natural meaning for the word than that which Kritz gives it, 'free from rocks and with a fruitful soil.'

12. **Abnobae jugo.]** The reading Abnobae for Arnobae or Arbonae is conclusively established by inscriptions found in the Black Forest, and by a passage of Avienus, a poet and geographer who seems to have lived towards the end of the 4th century, in his description of the world, Abnoba mons Istro pater est, cadit Abnobae hiatu Flumen, 437.

13. **Donec...erumpat.]** The subjunctive is commonly used by Tacitus after *donec* when the *present* tense is required. It seems intended to express the continuity of a process as well as its termination.

CHAPTER II.

1. **Ipsos Germanos.]** The pronoun '*ipse*' implies a contrast between the Germans themselves and their country, which is subsequently described. Comp. *Agr.* 13, *Ipsi* Britanni.

2. **Crediderim.]** 'I am inclined to think.' Tacitus gives us three reasons for believing the Germans to be indigenae; (1) the difficulties presented by the ocean in the way of emigrants, (2) the unattractive character of the country, (3) the native traditions of the people.

3. **Adventibus et hospitiis.]** The first of these words denotes strangers from distant countries; the second, persons in some way connected with the country which they visit.

4. **Adversus.]** It is better, we think, to take this word with Ritter in the sense of 'hostile' than to suppose that Tacitus was thinking of the Antipodes; the preceding words, 'utque sic dixerim,' seem to point to this meaning rather than to the other, which is somewhat too technical for the ordinary

usage of Tacitus. The passage, Chap. 34 (sed obstitit oceanus in se simulatque in Herculem inquiri) confirms us in this view. Very possibly there was at the same time present to the writer's mind the sense of the sea as a formidable physical obstacle perpetually confronting (adversus) mankind. Comp. Hor. C. i. 3. 22, oceano dissociabili. So too Matthew Arnold, 'the estranging sea.' (Poems, First Series, p. 197.)

5. **Praeter periculum.]** 'To say nothing of the danger.'

6. **Horridi.]** Sc. rough from the action of the winds.

7. **Asia.]** Asia Minor.

8. **Africa.]** Sc. the Roman province.

9. **Informem terris.]** Referring to the vast forests and morasses of Germany. *Informis* means, 'not brought into a proper form or condition.' Comp. Ch. 16, materia *informi*, and Ch. 45, *informe* perfertur (sucinum).

10. **Cultu.]** The word 'cultus' (often nearly equivalent to our *civilisation*) includes here the general character of the tillage of the soil and of the mode of life of the inhabitants, in all which Germany was such a striking contrast to Italy. Comp. Thucyd. I. 2, where the autochthonous character of the population of Attica is attributed to the poverty of the soil.

11. **Tuistonem.]** So Kritz after the best MSS. Orelli reads Tuisconem which Grimm and Zeuss prefer on philological grounds.

12. **Originem gentis conditoresque.]** Tuisto and Mannus were in popular belief both the parents (origo) of the German people and the founders of their laws and customs (conditores).

13. **Ut in licentia vetustatis.]** 'As is to be expected where antiquity gives a license to fiction.' Comp. for this use of '*ut*' Ch. 22, *ut* inter vinolentos; Ch. 45, *ut* barbaris; *Agr.* 11, *ut* inter barbaros.

14. **Deo.]** Sc. Mannus.

15. **Marsos, Gambrivios, Suevos, Vandalios.]** Of these only the *Suevi* are afterwards mentioned. The name of the Marsi occurs *Ann.* I. 50, in the account of the *first* campaign of Germanicus in Germany, and their territory, probably on both banks of the Ems, was the farthest limit to which the Roman arms advanced on that occasion. Neither the Gambrivii or Vandalii are elsewhere mentioned by Tacitus. Strabo speaks of the former (who were perhaps the same as the Chamavi) in connexion with the Cherusci and Chatti; the latter appear

in Pliny as the Vindili, and their settlements seem to have been between the Oder and Vistula.

16. **Ceterum.**] The word marks a transition. Tacitus has been speaking of the various ancient names by which the Germans were known; he now passes to the modern and universal name.

17. **Qui primi Rhenum, &c.**] The Belgae, according to Caesar, *B. G.* II. 4, were to a large extent of German origin, and had at a former period crossed the Rhine, and dispossessed the Gauls in those parts. These invading tribes went under the various names of Condrusi, Eburones, Caeraesi, &c.; they were however comprehended under the general appellation of Germans. But this appellation (which, Tacitus expressly says, in its wider application was modern) was for a time confined to those who had established themselves by conquest in Gallic territory.

18. **Ita nationis...vocarentur.**] '*Natio*' and '*gens*' (in the reading which we have adopted) must mean 'tribe' and 'race' respectively, and the two words are thus used by Velleius, II. 98, omnibus ejusdem *gentis nationibus* in arma accensis. *Natio* has this meaning, c. 38, Germaniae partem obtinent (Suevi) propriis adhuc *nationibus* nominibusque discreti. '*Natio*' thus denotes the comparatively small conquering section of the 'universa *gens*' which had crossed the Rhine, and which, to inspire terror into the conquered (ob metum) gave itself out to be a mere fraction of a great kindred people still remaining on the other side of the river. The name 'German,' adopted in the first instance by these victorious invaders of Gaul (a victore), and thus rendered terrible by its associations, was soon afterwards (mox) that by which the entire people called themselves. The passage may be thus rendered: 'Thus the name of a tribe and not of a race prevailed till all called themselves by the self-invented name of Germans, a name first employed by the conquerors because of the terror it inspired.' The newest view of the original signification of the name 'German' is that it means 'one who shouts' (from a Keltic word *guir*), and, like the Greek βοὴν ἀγαθός, denotes a warrior.

CHAPTER III.

1. **Herculem.**] Tacitus speaks throughout his work of the German divinities under Roman names. (Comp. Ch. 9, Deorum maxime *Mercurium* colunt. *Martem* concessis anima-

libus placant. In *Ann.* II. 12, we have mention of a grove sacred to Hercules. He seems to have represented among the Germans a hero rather than an actual god.

2. **Memorant.**] 'Authors tell us.' We should have apud se instead of apud eos if 'Germani' were the nominative to 'memorant.' Tacitus has in his mind the various Greek writers who had treated of Germany and other countries.

3. **Primum.**] Equivalent to 'maximum,' or 'praecipuum.'

4. **Virorum fortium.**] Sc. heroes and demigods.

5. **Haec quoque carmina.**] Haec is for talia or ejusmodi, and implies such songs as were sung under the circumstances of going into battle. Comp. *Hist.* II. 22, temere subeuntes Germanorum cohortes *cantu* truci.

6. **Relatu.**] 'Recital.' The word is found only in Tacitus.

7. **Barditum.**] So Kritz with the best MSS., though, as he says, there can hardly be any reference to the Keltic bards, an order of men of whom we hear nothing among the Germans. Orelli reads 'baritus' after Grimm, who connects the word with the Frisian 'baria' (to raise a shout). Dr Latham thinks that Tacitus erroneously describes a German custom by a Gallic name, but that he was perfectly aware of the differences between the Germanic and Gallic practice. Ritter brackets the words (quem barditum vocant) believing them to have been added by some reader imperfectly acquainted with the matter.

8. **Ipso cantu.**] 'From the *mere* sound of the song.' This appears to be the force of the pronoun.

9. **Trepidantve.**] *Ve* implies that the word to which it is affixed expresses the less probable alternative.

10. **Prout sonuit acies.**] Comp. *Hist.* IV. 18, where we read of the war-song of the men and the shrill cries of the women rising from the entire line of the army of the Batavian chief, Civilis.

11. **Nec tam voces...videntur.**] The pronoun illae is the *subject* of the sentence, the meaning of which is, 'Those [shouts] do not so much seem articulate words as a united cry of valour.' Orelli takes 'concentus' to be the plural number. This does not appear necessary.

12. **Fractum murmur.**] The sound instead of issuing straight out of their mouths was *broken* by their shields, which produced the echo afterwards mentioned.

13. **Plenior et gravior.**] 'Of a fuller and deeper tone.'

14. **Opinantur.]** The word 'opinari' is especially used of rash and groundless conjectures.

15. **In hunc oceanum.]** Sc. the northern ocean, which has been already mentioned.

16. **Asciburgium.]** Now Asburg. It is mentioned, *Hist.* IV. 33, as a Roman military station on the left bank of the Rhine.

17. **Aram.]** The word implies some kind of *stone* monument.

18. **Ulixi.]** Orelli, after Ernesti and Passow, takes this for ab Ulixe. It is better however to take it as meaning 'in honour of and to the memory of Ulixes.' Similarly, veterem aram Druso sitam, *Ann.* II. 7, means an altar raised by the army to the memory of Drusus.

19. **Adhuc extare.]** Tacitus may have borrowed this from the elder Pliny's great work on the Roman wars in Germany. Pliny had himself served in Germany.

20. **Fidem.]** The word here means something more than 'belief;' it implies the grounds on which belief should rest, so that addere fidem is almost equivalent to 'confirmare argumentis.'

CHAPTER IV.

1. **Aliis aliarum.]** This pleonasm, Kritz observes, is used with the deliberate intention of marking as distinctly as possible the difference between the Germans and all other barbarians.

2. **Truces et caerulei oculi.]** Caesar, *B. G.* I. 39, represents the Gauls as saying that in action they had often been scared by the fierce looks and eyes of the Germans. Both Horace and Juvenal use the epithet caeruleus (caerulus) in connexion with them. Horace, *Epod.* XVI. 7, Nec fera *caerulea* domuit Germania pube. Juvenal, XIII. 164, *Caerula* quis stupuit Germani lumina?

3. **Rutilae comae.]** Comp. *Agr.* 11.

4. **Magna corpora.]** Comp. Ch. 20, and *Hist.* IV. 1, where it appears that after the capture of Rome by the Flavianists, it was assumed that any very tall man was a German, and a Vitellianist.

5. **Ad impetum valida.]** We have the same character

of the Germans, *Ann.* II. 14, where Germanicus in his speech to his army is represented as saying of them that 'though their appearance is dreadful, and though their strength is great for a sudden effort, yet they are unable to endure wounds.' A somewhat similar description is given of the Highlanders who followed the young Pretender.

6. **Laboris atque operum.]** 'Labor' denotes toil generally; 'opera,' as elsewhere, has special reference to work connected with a campaign, 'intrenching camps, cutting down timber,' &c.

7. **Aestumque tolerare.]** Comp. *Hist.* II. 93, where the German soldiers in Rome are described as suffering 'aestus impatientia.'

CHAPTER V.

1. **Aliquanto.]** 'To a considerable extent.'

2. **Silvis horrida.]** 'Bristling with forests,' such as the 'silva Hercynia, Caesia, Teutoburgiensis,' &c.

3. **Satis.]** The ablative case of 'satum' (a sown crop), a word frequently used by Virgil.

4. **Frugiferarum arborum.]** Sc. the *finer* kinds of fruit-trees, as the mention of poma agrestia in Ch. 23 shews. The vine was then unknown in Germany.

5. **Improcera.]** The construction appears to be suddenly changed for the sake of avoiding the awkward sound of 'improcerorum.' It is not possible that improcera can be applied to 'terra,' as has been assumed by some interpreters. Even Tacitus would not have ventured on so obscure an expression.

6. **Ne armentis...frontis.]** The horses do not attain their proper size, and the cattle have not such fine horns as they have in Italy. The word 'armentum' derived from aro includes 'horses' and horned cattle.

7. **Numero gaudent.]** 'They (the people) take delight in having a large number.' '*Numerus*' is often equivalent to 'magnus munerus.' Comp. (at end of chapter) 'numerus argenteorum.'

8. **Haud perinde.]** Orelli takes this as equivalent to non admodum. There is no doubt an implied contrast between German simplicity and Roman luxury and avarice. This seems better than Kritz's view, that perinde compares *possessio* and *usus* ('they care more about possessing than using,' &c.).

9. **Est videre.]** A Greek form of expression, ἔστιν ὁρᾶν.

10. **Vilitate.]** Kritz reads 'utilitate,' a conjecture which seems unnecessary. The words non in alia may well stand for 'pari' or 'eadem.'

11. **Proximi.]** Sc. those nearest the Rhine.

12. **Agnoscunt.]** 'They are well acquainted with.'

13. **Serratos bigatosque.]** *Serrati* were denarii the circumferences of which had been made to resemble a saw (serra). This was to insure them from being clipped. 'Bigati' (as Pliny, *H. N.* XXXIII. 3, 13, explains) were coins stamped with the image of a two-horse chariot (biga). There were also coins called 'quadrigati.' The 'bigati' and 'quadrigati' were invariably silver coins.

14. **Affectione animi.]** This reading (for which Kritz substitutes affectatione) appears to be perfectly intelligible. 'Affectio animi' may, for anything we can see to the contrary, mean a *particular* as well as a *general* state of mind, and so in this passage may denote a whim or caprice in regard to the matter in question. The Germans had no bias in favour of silver rather than gold; they preferred silver coins as the most convenient.

CHAPTER VI.

1. **Superest.]** 'Is abundant.' Compare Ch. 26, superest ager, and *Agr.* 44, gratia oris *supererat*.

2. **Ex genere telorum.]** According to *Ann.* II. 14, 'the Germans had neither helmet nor coat of mail; even their shields were not strengthened with iron or leather, but were merely a contexture of twigs or thin painted boards; only their first rank was armed with spears, the rest had short darts hardened by fire.

3. **Lanceis.]** This according to Diodorus, V. 30, was a Gallic word. The 'lancea' seems to have differed from the 'hasta' in having a broader point.

4. **Frameas.]** The 'framea' was probably furnished with a leather thong, so that it could be thrown forward and drawn back. It was thus suitable for distant as well as for close fighting.

5. **Cultus.]** Here equivalent to ornatus militaris.

6. **Cassis aut galea.]** The 'cassis' was of metal, the 'galea' of leather. This is the distinction drawn between the

two words by Isidorus Hispalensis in his *Origines*, a work on Etymologies, XVIII. 14.

7. **Sed nec, &c.]** 'Nor are they taught, &c.' i.e. they are neither swift, handsome, nor well trained.

8. **Variare gyros.]** Sc. to describe a movement of which the figure 8 gives one the best idea.

9. **Ita conjuncto orbe.]** The movement may be thus explained. The line of horsemen formed the radius of a circle, of which the rider on the extreme right was the centre, while the rider on the extreme left followed the line of the circumference. Their skill consisted in always presenting an even front. This was effected by each man adapting his speed to his position.

10. **In universum aestimanti.]** For si quis in universum aestimat. We find the same expression *Agr.* 11. The meaning is: 'Taking a general view of the Germans.' There were a few tribes, as the Tencteri, who were famous for their cavalry. See Ch. 32.

11. **Mixti praeliantur.]** Sc. infantry fight intermixed with cavalry. Caesar, *B. G.* I. 48, in the account of his war with Ariovistus, speaks of infantry who were so active that they could lay hold of the manes of the cavalry horses and keep pace with them.

12. **Definitur et numerus.]** Sc. there is a certain fixed proportion of these chosen youths just mentioned to so many cavalry.

13. **Idque ipsum vocantur.]** Sc. 'centeni' vocantur.

14. **Nomen et honor.]** 'A name of distinction.' A hendiadys.

15. **Cuneos.]** 'Distinct bodies,' opposed in *Hist.* v. 16 to *porrectum* agmen.

16. **Consilii...arbitrantur.]** 'They consider a mark of prudence rather than of cowardice.' Tacitus often omits 'potius' in such sentences.

17. **Multique...finierunt.]** Comp. Herod. VII. 232, where we find a report mentioned by the historian of a certain Spartan Pantaites, who, having been sent on a message by Leonidas, and having thus escaped the fate of the 300 at Thermopylae, hanged himself on his return to Sparta.

CHAPTER VII.

1. **Ex nobilitate.**] Not meaning 'ex nobilibus,' but propter nobile genus.

2. **Quam imperio.**] Comp. Ch. 11, where we are told that the 'king or chief is obeyed rather from his ability to persuade than his authority to command.'

3. **Admiratione praesunt.**] 'Admiratione,' as well as 'exemplo' and 'imperio,' is a causal ablative, not equivalent to cum 'admiratione,' as Kritz takes it.

4. **Animadvertere.**] To punish with death. Comp. *Hist.* I. 46, In Marcianum Icelum palam *animadversum;* and I. 68, In Julium Alpinum Caecina *animadvertit.* The absolute use of the word is exceptional.

5. **Ne verberare quidem.**] In the Roman army even the centurion could do as much as this, for which purpose he carried a staff of vine-wood (vitis).

6. **Effigies.**] Sc. images of boars, wolves, bulls, &c. Compare *Hist.* IV. 22, where we find that in the army of Civilis there were 'the images of wild beasts brought out of the woods and sacred groves (of the Germans).'

7. **Detracta.**] The word seems to suggest that these images were usually suspended from trees, &c., though it is used very commonly for simple removal. See Ch. 45, in which we are told that the Aestii 'carry about, as a symbol of their superstition, the figures of wild boars.'

8. **Turmam aut cuneum.**] The first word is used of *cavalry*, the second of *infantry*.

9. **Pignora.**] Sc. their wives and children. The word is similarly used *Agr.* 38, 'Aliquando frangi aspectu *pignorum* suorum, saepius concitari.' We have an illustration of this practice *Hist.* IV. 18. Civilis, we are there told, when on the eve of battle, 'directed his mother and sisters, and the wives and children of all his men, to stand in the rear, where they might encourage the troops to victory and shame them if they fled.' The same thing is said to have been done by the Teutones in the great battle of Aquae Sextiae, B.C. 102.

10. **Audiri.**] This is the reading of the MSS. and is followed by Orelli, who understands 'possit.' It cannot well be taken as the historic infinitive, coming as it does after the relative 'unde.' Kritz reads 'auditur.'

11. **Sanctissimi.]** 'Most solemnly binding.'

12. **Exigere plagas.]** We prefer Lipsius' interpretation of 'exigere,' 'requirere cum exprobatione,' to that of recent commentators who explain the word to mean 'carefully examining and probing the wounds.' The German women may well be supposed to have actually demanded wounds as a test of valour. In the three other passages in which the word 'exigere' occurs in this work, Ch. 10, auspiciorum adhuc fides *exigitur;* 14, *exigunt*...illum bellatorem equum; 20, in accipiendis obsidibus magis *exigunt*, it has the meaning of 'requiring' or 'demanding.'

13. **Cibos et hortamina...gestant.]** An instance, among many, of combining under the government of the same verb incongruous objects. 'Gestare hortamina' would hardly be a correct expression.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. **Memoriae proditur...a feminis restitutas.]** Both Caesar and Plutarch speak of the bravery of the German women, and very possibly Tacitus had the first of these writers in his mind. Caesar, *B. G.* VII. 51, says that on one great occasion they accompanied the soldiers to battle, and, with dishevelled hair, intreated them not to give them up to slavery. Plutarch (*Life of Marius*, c. 19) tells us that in the battle of Aquae Sextiae they actually took part in the engagement, and that armed with swords and axes, they drove back both their own fugitives and the pursuing enemy.

2. **Objectu pectorum.]** Sc. not merely baring their breasts, but actually exposing them to the weapons of the enemy.

3. **Monstrata cominus captivitate.]** Sc. 'by visibly shewing captivity as close at hand.' A less concise writer would have said, 'captivitate quae in propinquo esset.'

4. **Feminarum...nomine.]** Sc. feminarum respectu. The ablative of '*nomen*' is often equivalent to our expression, 'on the score of.'

5. **Consilia...responsa.]** The *first* word signifies 'counsels given unasked;' the second, 'replies to specific questions.'

6. **Vidimus...Veledam.]** Tacitus is here speaking of himself and his contemporaries, and he means, 'We actually saw Veleda, who was long regarded, &c.' Veleda is mentioned three times in the course of the historian's narrative of the war

with Civilis: *Hist.* IV. 61 (where she is said to have been a maiden of the tribe of the Bructeri, with extensive dominion); *Hist.* IV. 65 (where we are told she dwelt in a lofty tower, and, in order to inspire greater awe, declined all personal communication with those who wished to consult her); and *Hist.* V. 21. Her name too occurs in Statius, *Silvae* I. 4, 89, Captivaeque preces Veledae.

7. **Albrunam.]** We prefer this reading of Kritz to the more Latin form of name *Aurinia.*

8. **Non adulatione.]** 'Not in a spirit of flattery,' as Tacitus would imply that his own countrymen had paid honour to Drusilla, the sister of Caligula, and to Poppaea Sabina, the infant daughter of Nero by his mistress Poppaea.

9. **Facerent deas.]** They regarded certain women as really goddesses; consequently there was no need of deifying them. Comp. *Hist.* IV. 61, where Tacitus says that the Germans believed their prophetesses to be divine.

CHAPTER IX.

1. **Mercurium.]** See note 1, Ch. 3.

2. **Certis diebus.]** On fixed, appointed days.

3. **Humanis quoque hostiis.]** Quoque implies that on other than these fixed days *animals* were sacrificed. Comp. *Hist.* V. 13.

4. **Concessis animalibus.]** These are opposed to 'human victims,' and mean such sacrifices as were permitted among the humaner and more civilised nations of Greece and Italy. Tacitus mentions two occasions on which human victims were offered; these however were in time of war. The first (recorded *Ann.* I. 61) was that on which the Germans immolated in their sacred groves the tribunes and centurions of the defeated army of Varus. The second (*Ann.* XIII. 57) was that of a battle between the Hermunduri and Chatti, at the beginning of which the latter tribe devoted to Mars and Mercury the men and horses of the enemy.

5. **Pars Suevorum et Isidi sacrificat.]** Coupling this passage with what we are told (Ch. 40) about several of the Suevic tribes worshipping a goddess Nerthus (Earth) and dedicating to her a carriage (vehiculum), as the Romans dedicated a ship to the Egyptian goddess Isis, we think the chances are that Ritter is right in identifying Nerthus and Isis. There seems

also to have been a similarity between the attributes of the two goddesses.

6. **Nisi quod.]** Sc. only this is certain, that the image is of itself enough to shew, &c. Ipsum = per se.

7. **Liburna.]** The liburna or liburnica (for both forms are found) was a species of light vessel used by the Liburni, an Illyrian tribe on the north-east of the Adriatic.

8. **Ex magnitudine.]** 'Consistent with the grandeur.'

9. **Lucos ac nemora consecrant.]** The temple of Tamfana, mentioned *Ann.* I. 51, in the territory of the Marsi, and that of Baduhenna (*Ann.* IV. 73), among the Frisii, were consecrated groves.

10. **Deorumque nominibus appellant.]** Sc. certain groves are consecrated to certain deities. Thus, *Ann.* II. 12, we hear of a wood sacred to Hercules, and, Ch. 40, of a grove dedicated to Nerthus.

11. **Secretum illud.]** 'That abstract existence.' The notion of 'secretum' is that of separation from everything which the senses can recognise.

12. **Sola reverentia.]** 'Simply with a reverent mind.' Compare this account of the German conceptions of the Deity with what we are told *Hist.* V. 5, about the Jews.

CHAPTER X.

1. **Sortesque.]** Caesar twice mentions the use of lots among the Germans for the purpose of divination, *B. G.* I. 50 and 53. In the first of these passages he says the German matrons used them in war to decide whether or no they should fight; in the second, we are told that Procillus, a Roman soldier whom the Germans had taken prisoner, said, on being rescued, that a consultation with lots had been thrice held over him as to whether he should be burnt.

2. **Ut qui maxime.]** Equivalent to 'quam maxime.' Comp. Cicero, *Epp. ad Fam.* XIII. 63, 'Te semper sic colam et tuebor *ut quem* diligentissime.'

3. **Frugiferae arbori.]** See note 4, Ch. 5. Here it must mean a tree bearing 'poma agrestia,' or a tree of a choicer kind selected for its rarity.

4. **Temere ac fortuito.]** Temere, 'without any definite plan or system;' fortuito, 'as chance has it.'

5. **Si publice consuletur.]** 'If the question be put on the public account.'

6. **Ter singulos tollit.]** 'He thrice takes up each piece.'

7. **Auspiciorum fides adhuc exigitur.]** 'The confirmation of auspices is further required.' Kritz explains 'exigitur' by 'exploratur,' which seems very doubtful. 'Auspicium' here is not confined to signs drawn from birds, but includes omens from horses, &c. 'Adhuc,' as here, in the sense of etiam, is found only in the later Latin writers.

8. **Illud.]** Sc. 'that well known custom of ours.'

9. **Iisdem...lucis.]** Referring to the words 'lucos ac nemora consecrant' in the preceding chapter.

10. **Candidi.]** Comp. Herod. I. 189, from which it appears that white horses were held in similar honour among the Persians. So too a white elephant is regarded in the present day in some regions of the East.

11. **Pressos.]** A more poetic and rhetorical word than 'junctos' would be.

12. **Hinnitus, &c.]** Comp. Herod. III. 84—87 for the mode in which Darius was chosen king.

13. **Illos conscios putant.]** '(The horses) they believe to be acquainted (with the divine will).'

14. **Committunt.]** Committere is the technical word for pitting combatants against each other.

CHAPTER XI.

1. **Ita tamen ut.]** 'Under this condition however, that,' &c.

2. **Plebem.]** Sc. all the freeborn with the exception of the chiefs.

3. **Pertractentur.]** *Thoroughly* discussed. Ritter reads praetractentur after Muretus, a word nowhere found.

4. **Noctium.]** The Gauls, according to Caesar, *B. G.* VI. 18, reckoned time in the same way. (Spatia omnis temporis non numero dierum sed *noctium* finiunt). The traces of this mode of computation still linger in the expressions 'fortnight,' 'sennight.'

5. **Constituunt...condicunt.]** Both words are legal terms.

6. **Ducere diem.**] Ducere=praeire. Their idea was that the night, as it were, took precedence of the day, and was in some sense its cause and origin. This notion was common among the nations of antiquity. The Jews reckoned their day from sunset to sunset. Comp. our expressions 'fortnight,' 'sennight.' Comp. *Plut.* Symp. IV. 5. 2, whence it appears that a similar idea was prevalent among the Egyptians.

7. **Illud...vitium.**] *Illud*' is the subject, *vitium* the predicate.

8. **Nec ut jussi.**] Comp. *Hist.* IV. 76, where Civilis is represented as saying that the Germans do not obey orders, and cannot be controlled, but always act according to their own caprice.

9. **Ut turbae placuit.**] It seems better to take 'ut' in the sense of time, and as equivalent to 'ubi' or 'simulac,' than as expressing the confused and disorderly character of the proceeding.

10. **Coercendi.**] Sc. of keeping them in order.

11. **Frameas concutiunt.**] So we read, *Hist.* V. 17, that Civilis' harangue to his troops was hailed with the clash of arms and wild antics. (Sono armorum tripudiisque.)

CHAPTER XII.

1. **Quoque.**] The word refers to what is implied, but not expressed, and has the same force which it has Ch. 9, humanis *quoque* hostiis, as pointed out in note 3.

2. **Discrimen capitis intendere.**] Sc. to hold over a man the peril of a capital charge.

3. **Ignavos et imbelles.**] 'ignavi' strictly are those who shew themselves cowards in action; 'imbelles' those who decline military service altogether.

4. **Coeno ac palude.**] A hendiadis for 'coenosa palude.'

5. **Illuc respicit tamquam, &c.**] 'Points to the notion that crimes,' &c., 'recognises the principle,' &c. Comp. Ch. 39 for a similar form of expression; *Superstitio respicit* tamquam, &c.

6. **Scelera...flagitia.**] The first word denotes 'crimes against society;' the second, 'disgraceful acts repugnant to human nature.'

7. **Pro modo poena.**] 'A proportionate penalty.' The reading of the MSS. is 'poenarum,' which Acidalius corrected.

8. **Equorum pecorumque numero.]** We have been already told, Ch. 5, that the wealth of the Germans consisted wholly in horses and cattle (eae solae et gratissimae opes). 'Numero' is for aliquo numero.

9. **Vel propinquis.]** Sc. when, as in homicide, the injured person is represented by others. Comp. Ch. 21 for the penalty of homicide.

10. **Reddunt.]** The indicative expresses the actual functions performed by the chiefs. The subjunctive would of course have substantially the same meaning, but would draw attention to the purpose for which they were elected. It appears to have been the office of these chiefs to decide private disputes and civil actions. Reddere jus or jura is a common expression, and occurs *Ann.* VI. 11, XIII. 51, *Hist.* III. 68. The idea of 'reddere' is to give something on which the recipient has a claim.

11. **Pagos vicosque.]** *Pagi,* districts of various extent into which the territory of a tribe or people was divided. Thus the Semnones (Ch. 39) occupied 100 pagi, and in *Ann.* I. 56, we hear of the '*pagi vicique*' of the Chatti. *Vici,* towns or villages of which we have the description Ch. 16. The words answer approximately to our hundreds and parishes.

12. **Centeni.]** These 'centeni,' being chosen from the 'plebs,' could not be the same as the 'comitatus' mentioned in the next chapter, which consisted of chiefs and men of rank. Comp. what is known of the constitution of the Roman court of the 'centum viri.'

13. **Consilium simul et auctoritas.]** In apposition with 'comites.' 'Consilium' expresses simply the notion of advisers; 'auctoritas' implies the strength and support given by these assessors, who were to the German chief what the 'judices' were to the Roman praetor.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. **Moris.]** Comp. for the construction Ch. 21, abeunti, si quid poposcerit, concedere *moris.* *Agr.* 33 ut barbaris *moris,* and *Agr.* 39 ut Domitiano *moris* erat.

2. **Suffecturum probaverit.]** 'Has approved his ability to bear them, sc. arma.' Sufficere is used in much the same way *Agr.* 45. 'Probare,' according to Gronovius, was a regular military term, and expressed the duty of those who had to conduct the levy of troops, and admit to the *sacramentum.* The word occurs again in this chapter.

3. **Haec apud illos toga.]** Sc. these (arms) are to them what the 'toga virilis' is to us. The custom here described may

be paralleled with the ceremonies connected with the mediæval bestowal of knighthood.

4. **Principis dignationem.**] Those words are susceptible of two explanations. One is, that they mean 'the favourable regard of a chief,' and his consequent willingness to admit such youths into his comitatus; the other is that *dignatio* is here used as equivalent to 'dignitas.' It is not easy to choose between these two meanings; as, however, Tacitus seems unquestionably to use *dignatio* for dignitas, *Ann.* II. 33, III. 75, IV. 16, IV. 52, XIII. 20, *Hist.* I. 19, I. 52, III. 80, and Ch. 26 of this work, we think it is likely that it is thus used in this passage. The difference between the words appears to be that '*dignatio*' answers better than dignitas to our word 'rank.' These noble youths were considered 'principes' in rank, while they were content with the position of simple 'comites.'

5. **Aggregantur.**] 'They attach themselves.' The middle voice.

6. **Comites.**] Elsewhere called clientes. *Ann.* I. 57, Segestes magna cum propinquorum et *clientium* manu; II. 45, ni Inguiomerus cum manu *clientium* ad Maroboduum perfugisset; XII. 30, Vannium—secuti mox *clientes*.

7. **Gradus.**] 'Various degrees.' These were determined by the judgment (judicio) of the chief.

8. **Haec dignitas...praesidium.**] We have adopted the punctuation of Kritz in preference to that of Orelli, as it seems, on the whole, to give a somewhat better turn to the sentence. The sense is not affected. 'Dignitas,' it may be noted, is used in a wider and more general sense than 'dignatio.' Here it nearly answers to our 'prestige.'

9. **Id nomen, ea gloria.**] The following 'si numero... emineat' is the epexegesis of these words.

10. **Comitatus.**] The genitive case

11. **Expetuntur.**] 'Are courted.'

12. **Ipsa plerumque fama.**] Comp. Livy, XXVII. 45, *famam* bellum conficere.

13. **Profligant.**] Profligare, not actually 'to finish,' but 'virtually to decide.' Comp. *Hist.* II. 4, *Profligaverat* bellum Judaicum Vespasianus. The war with the Jews was not finished because Jerusalem had not yet fallen, but its result was no longer doubtful. Comp. also Livy, XXI. 40, Bellum commissum ac *profligatum* conficere. Ritter explains the word by 'propellunt' (drive to a distance), a meaning which we think it will not bear.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. **Jam vero.]** This formula is used to introduce an additional and more important fact. Compare *Agr.* 9, *jam vero* tempora curarum remissionumque divisa.

2. **Infame...probrosum.]** 'Infame' regards the disgrace in itself; 'probrosum' has reference to the reproaches of which it is the subject. Comp. Q. Curtius, IV. 15. 24, Utrumque regem delecti tuebantur, sui immemores. Quippe amisso rege nec volebant salvi esse nec poterant.

3. **Praecipuum sacramentum est.]** 'Is their peculiar loyalty.' Comp. *Agr.* 8, where the same virtue is commended in Agricola.

4. **Tuentur.]** So Kritz and Ritter. '*Tueare* (the common reading and retained by Orelli) breaks the construction, and would rather express the writer's notion of the matter than the actual practice of the Germans, which is here in question.

5. **Illum...frameam.]** The pronouns, *illum, illam*, imply that the war-horse and the spear were the recognised rewards of valour. The epithet 'cruenta' denotes that the 'framea' was given as a token of having slain an enemy.

6. **Et quanquam...apparatus.]** 'Apparatus' may be taken as a genitive of quality denoting the character of the 'epulae.' It seems however better and more in accordance with Tacitean usage to take *epulae* et *apparatus* with Orelli as a species of hendiadis, and equivalent to epularum apparatus. Comp. Horace, *C.* I. 38. 1, Persicos odi, puer, *apparatus*. We have the expression 'apparatis epulis,' Ch. 21, where see note 7.

7. **Pro stipendio cedunt.]** 'Are taken as pay.'

8. **Annum.]** Sc. anni proventum. So Lucan, III. 452, uses the word. Agricolae raptis *annum* flevere juvencis.

9. **Vocare hostem.]** Tacitus, who often uses simple words for compound, here uses *vocare* for *pro*vocare. Comp. *Hist.* IV. 80, neque ipse deerat arrogantia *vocare* offensas.

10. **Vulnera mereri.]** As we might say, 'to win honour able scars.'

11. **Pigrum et iners.]** 'Tame and spiritless.'

CHAPTER XV.

1. **Multum venatibus.]** MSS. non multum. Lipsius was the first to suggest the omission of the negative, and the suggestion has been adopted by Ritter and Kritz, while Orelli retains it and defends it on the strange ground that the Germans could have had but comparatively little leisure for such hunting expeditions. The reasons for rejecting it appear to us to be of overwhelming strength. Not to speak of the extreme awkwardness of its position, and of the improbability that Tacitus should trouble himself to tell us what the Germans did not do, or did to a very slight extent, it is incredible that on a matter which must have been well known and familiar to the Romans, he should be in direct contradiction to Caesar who says expressly, *B. G.* VI. 21, that the Germans pass their whole life in the chase and the pursuits of war. It is, besides, utterly improbable that a wild and warlike people (as Tacitus describes the Germans to have been) should have been indifferent to the chase.

2. **Domus et penatium cura.]** 'Domestic economy.'

3. **Mira diversitate naturae.]** 'By a strange contradiction in their nature.'

4. **Ultro ac viritim.]** 'Voluntarily and individually.'

5. **Armentorum vel frugum.]** These are *partitive* genitives. Comp. *Hist.* II. 44, superesse cum ipso Othone *militum quod* trans Padum fuerit, and *Ann.* XV. 53, *ceterorum* ut *quisque* audentiae habuisset. Conferre is here used as the Greek *μεταδιδόναι*.

6. **Jam et pecuniam...docuimus.]** Speaking of the Marcomanni and Quadi (Ch. 42) Tacitus says that their kings were oftener aided by Roman money than by Roman arms. The German love of money is also glanced at, *Hist.* IV. 76. In the word 'docuimus' is obviously implied a satire on Roman covetousness. Comp. for the sentiment *Agr.* 12, Ego facilius crediderim naturam margaritis deesse quam nobis avaritiam.

CHAPTER XVI.

1. **Nullas...habitari.]** Tacitus means that the Germans had no cities to be compared with those of Italy and Greece. He can hardly mean that they had no *towns* (oppida), as he himself, *Ann.* I. 56, speaks of Mattium as the capital of the Chatti, and Caesar, *B. G.* IV. 19, uses the word '*oppidum*' in reference to the Suevi. The word 'urbs' with all its associa-

tions implied a higher degree of civilisation than the Germans had reached. To a Roman it conveyed the notion of fortifications, temples, porticoes, public places, &c.

2. **Inter se.]** These words are to be taken with 'junctas.' We have described, first, the character of the larger country-houses, next, that of their towns or villages.

3. **Discreti.]** 'Apart and at a distance from one another. A mark of their love of liberty and independence.

4. **Ut fons...placuit.]** It will be remembered that the modern names of German towns frequently end in bach (brook), feld (field), holz (grove), wald (wood), born (spring), thus indicating their origin.

5. **Connexis et cohaerentibus.]** The first of these words answers to 'contiguous,' meaning that there might be the separation of walls or hedges, &c.; the latter word implies 'close contact.'

6. **Spatio.]** Sc. a considerable open space.

7. **Remedium.]** The accusative, in apposition with the fact expressed by the preceding words. It is a concise way of saying 'ut sit remedium.' So below, 'suffugium hiemi.'

8. **Caementorum.]** Sc. caesorum lapidum. 'Caementum' is from caedo, and denotes stone cut from the quarry, not otherwise hewn. Such stones would be termed 'caesi lapides.' Comp. Horace, *C.* III. 1. 35, *Caementa* demittit redemptor, and *C.* III. 24. 3, *Caementis* licet occupes, &c.

9. **Materia.]** 'Wood for building.'

10. **Informi.]** See note 9, Ch. 2.

11. **Citra.]** Compare *Agr.* 1, *Citra* fidem, where see note.

12. **Delectationem.]** 'Attractiveness.'

13. **Quaedam loca.]** Sc. the interior walls.

14. **Terra...splendente.]** Probably some kind of red chalk.

15. **Ut picturam...imitetur.]** 'So as to resemble painting and coloured designs.' '*Pictura*' means simply 'painting,' not 'painted figures;' '*lineamenta colorum*' appears to mean frescoes. Tacitus was thinking of the customary ornamentation of Roman houses.

16. **Solent, &c.]** Tacitus is here speaking of the wilder and remoter tribes—those of which he speaks in the following chapter as wearing the skins of beasts.

17. **Subterraneos specus aperire.**] Compare what Virgil says (*Georg.* III. 376) of the Scythian and northern tribes:

> Ipsi in defossis specubus secura sub alta
> Otia agunt terra.

Ammianus Marcellinus (XVII. 1—8) relates that the emperor Julian in his expedition across the Rhine into the territory of the Alamanni was told by a deserter, on his approaching a dense forest, that multitudes of the enemy lay concealed in the intricate windings of subterraneous passages, and might burst forth at any moment. The same kind of habitations are still to be seen in the table-lands of Armenia. Xenophon, *Anab.* IV. 5. 25, describes them. Tacitus uses 'aperire' for fodere, as the less commonplace word.

18. **Hiemi.**] A dative, 'for the needs of winter.'

19. **Fallunt.**] Equivalent to the Greek λανθάνει, a sense in which Tacitus often uses the word.

20. **Quod quaerenda sunt.**] Meaning that the delay which search would cause is their protection.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. **Sagum.**] This was properly the Roman soldier's cloak, and it was to him what the 'toga' was to a civilian. The word here stands for an *outer* vest generally resembling the Roman 'sagum.'

2. **Veste.**] This must mean something worn beneath the 'sagum,' and confined to comparatively few.

3. **Stricta...exprimente.**] 'Tight and exhibiting each limb.'

4. **Gerunt...pelles.**] Caesar (*B. G.* VI. 22) speaks of the Germans as using the skin of the reindeer (reno) for this purpose. Comp. Virg. *Georg.* III. 383.

5. **Ripae.**] Meaning especially the bank of the Rhine.

6. **Ulteriores.**] Sc. the interior and more distant tribes.

7. **Exquisitius.**] 'With considerable study and painstaking.' Skins were their only material for dress; hence the pains they bestowed on them.

8. **Cultus.**] The word here denotes the elegancies of civilised life which were procurable by the Germans only through commerce.

9. **Eligunt feras.**] 'They make choice of particular beasts.'

10. **Spargunt.]** Spargere, as Ritter observes, answers here exactly to the Greek *ποικίλλειν*.

11. **Maculis pellibusque.]** 'Spotted skins.' A hendiadis. The hides (velamina) of the common beasts (ferae) were ornamented and varied with the furs of rarer beasts (beluae), not generally marine animals, though the skins of the seal and the sea-otter might probably be among them, found in the islands of the Baltic.

12. **Exterior Oceanus.]** Sc. the German ocean and the Baltic.

13. **Lineis amictibus.]** Pliny, *H. N.* XIX. 1, represents the Germans as weaving clothes from flax, and their women as considering this the choicest kind of dress.

14. **Partemque...extendunt.]** They do not lengthen the upper part of their clothes, which was the fashion of the Roman tunic. Comp. the phrases tunica manuleata (Plautus, *Ps.* II. 4. 48) and *κιθὼν χειριδωτός*.

15. **Brachia ac lacertos.]** 'Brachium,' the arm from the hand to the elbow; 'lacertus,' from the elbow to the shoulder.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. **Quanquam.]** This word is used to repel the inference which the conclusion of the preceding chapter would have suggested to the ordinary Roman reader. It should be rendered by 'nevertheless.'

2. **Pluribus nuptiis ambiuntur.]** Virgil uses a very similar expression *Aen.* VII. 323:

> Neu connubiis ambire Latinum
> Aeneadae possint.

In both passages we prefer the construction with the ablative instead of the dative which Kritz takes nuptiis to be. Ariovistus was one of those few exceptions here noted. He had two wives, one from Suevia, the other from Noricum. See Caes. *B. G.* I. 53.

3. **Delicias muliebres.]** 'The fastidious tastes of women.' There is an indirect allusion to the costly jewels, rings, bracelets, &c., of which the Roman ladies were so fond. Comp. the speech of Tiberius, *Ann.* III. 53, in which mention is made of the various female ornaments for the purchase of which 'Roman money found its way into distant and even hostile countries.'

4. **Quibus nova nupta comatur.]** Sc. suitable to a bride's toilet. Our 'trousseau' seems to convey the writer's notion.

5. **In haec munera.**] Ritter follows Ernesti in explaining this as equivalent to ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς δώροις, 'on condition of such a dower.' It seems better to take it as somewhat analogous to the phrase 'jurare in verba.' The idea is that the character of the bride and of the bridal gifts correspond to each other.

6. **Haec arcana sacra.**] The meaning is that this interchange of gifts which has been just described was to the Germans what the sacred rites of the confarreatio were to the Romans. This, the most solemn form of marriage, had, as we learn from *Ann.* IV. 16, almost fallen into disuse in the time of the empire.

7. **Hos conjugales deos.**] Among these were Jupiter, Juno, Diana, Venus, Hymenaeus, and several obscure deities, such as Jugatinus, Domiducus, Domitius, &c. whose offices Augustine, *De C. D.* VI. 9, satirically commemorates.

8. **Extra virtutum cogitationes.**] 'Out of the range of aspirations after manly qualities.'

9. **Auspiciis.**] Almost equivalent to 'initiis.' There is of course the notion of initiatory rites in the word.

10. **Passuram ausuramque.**] '*Resolved* to suffer and to dare.'

11. **Denuntiant.**] 'Plainly declare.' The word 'denuntiari' was originally a legal term. It soon acquired the meaning of 'to threaten,' which is not wholly absent from this passage.

12. **Sic vivendum.**] This, and the infinitive 'accipere,' depend on 'denuntiant.'

13. **Digna.**] Understand 'liberis' from the context. The word however is often used absolutely, just as our 'worthy,' by the best writers. See Hor. *C.* II. 14. 25, Absumet heres Caecuba *dignior.*

14. **Quae nurus accipiant.**] Construe this with 'accipere se.' The reading of the MSS. 'rursusque' (for which Kritz substitutes rursus quae) is retained by Orelli and Ritter, and seems satisfactory.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. **Septa.**] Equivalent to 'munita.' The bridal gifts and the obligation implied in them, of which we have just been told, were a guard and defence to the purity of married life.

2. **Illecebris...irritationibus.**] Both words denote 'things which tempt,' but the latter implies temptation of a peculiarly stimulating and vehement character.

3. **Litterarum secreta.]** Tacitus cannot mean that the Germans were wholly ignorant of the use of letters for ordinary purposes, since, *Ann.* II. 63 and 88, he speaks of letters addressed by Maroboduus, king of the Suevi, and Adgandestrius, chief of the Chatti, to the emperor and senate respectively. He is clearly alluding to the clandestine love letters of which we have mention in Ovid, Juvenal, Martial, and is thus suggesting a contrast to the disadvantage of his countrymen.

4. **Praesens et maritis permissa.]** 'Immediate and at the discretion of the husbands.'

5. **Accisis.]** Sc. cut so short as to be completely disfigured. So 'accisae res' in the sense of 'impaired fortunes.' Contrary to the authority of most of the MSS. Orelli reads abscisis.

6. **Publicatae enim pudicitiae.]** In reference to *unmarried* women. So profligate were the Roman ladies of the empire that we are told, *Ann.* II. 85, that the senate had to provide by law that no woman whose father, or grandfather, or husband was an 'eques' should give in her name as a prostitute to the aediles. 'Enim' implies a transition in the subject. Tacitus passes from the character of the married to that of unmarried women.

7. **Aetate.]** Here 'youth.'

8. **Seculum.]** Louandre: 'la mode du siècle.' 'Zeitgeist' is the equivalent German word. In the New Testament *αἰών* is used in a precisely similar way.

9. **Melius...civitatis.]** Sc. agunt. 'Still better is the condition of those states,' &c. 'Adhuc' strengthens the comparative melius; it is equivalent to the Greek ἔτι, and is here used when the writers of the Augustan age would have used 'etiam.'

10. **Cum spe...transigitur.]** Transigere cum aliqua re = finire, absolvere rem. Compare *Agr.* 34, *Transigite* cum expeditionibus, and Ch. 22 (of this work), rixae raro conviciis *transiguntur*. The meaning therefore is that the hopes and vows of a wife are ended once for all at the time of marriage. This was far from being the case at Rome. Martial, VI. 7, tells us of a lady who shortly after the revival of the Julian law married her tenth husband.

11. **Ne tamquam...ament.]** 'That they may fix their affections, not, as it were, on the husband, but on the married state.'

12. **Agnatis.]** Sc. the children born *after* the final arrangements made by the father as to his heirs and the disposition of

his property. In his account of the Jews, Tacitus says of them, *Hist.* V. 5, what he here says of the Germans (necare quemquam ex agnatis nefas). Compare the use of 'sublatum,' *Agr.* 6, and see note.

13. **Flagitium.]** See note 6 on word, Ch. 12.

14. **Alibi bonae leges.]** The allusion is to the Lex Julia, passed in the reign of Augustus, about 17 B.C., and to the Lex Papia Poppaea, passed A.D. 9, as a supplement to the former. These laws had for their object the regulation and encouragement of marriage; they proved however, as Tacitus tells us, *Ann.* III. 25, a failure, and simply increased the power of the 'delatores.'

CHAPTER XX.

1. **Nudi ac sordidi.]** The first word expresses the scantiness of their clothing, the second, its meanness and filth.

2. **Nec ancillis...delegantur.]** In allusion to the practice at Rome in his own time, Tacitus says, *Dial.* 29, At nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae alicui ancillae.

3. **Nullis educationis deliciis.]** 'By no soft refinements in their training.'

4. **Virtus agnoscat.]** A kind of personification. 'Till valour claim them as her own.'

5. **Festinantur.]** 'Hurried into marriage.'

6. **Miscentur.]** 'Are united in marriage.'

7. **Robora.]** 'The robust frames.'

8. **Referunt.]** Equivalent to 'repraesentant.' Compare Ch. 43, Marsigni sermone ac cultu Suevos *referunt.*

9. **Tamquam...teneant.]** 'Under the notion that (sisters' sons) bind the affections more strongly and the family more extensively.' The German idea seems to have been that while the attachment of the sons would be secured by nature, the less close relationship of the nephew would be advantageously secured by custom.

10. **Nullum testamentum.]** Sc. no will according to Roman ideas, which required the presence and signature of witnesses, &c.

11. **Tanto gratiosior.]** 'So much the more regarded with favour.'

12. **Orbitatis pretia.**] We have several allusions in Tacitus to the influence possessed by the childless wealthy. The subject is noticed *Ann.* III. 25, XIII. 52, XV. 19, *Hist.* I. 73, (where it is said of Calvia Crispinilla that she was potens pecunia et *orbitate*), *Dial.* 6, and is continually remarked on by Juvenal. 'Pretia,' 'advantages.' Comp. Pliny, *Epp.* IV. 15, where we have the similar phrase, *orbitatis* praemia.

CHAPTER XXI.

1. **Suscipere.**] 'To adopt.'

2. **Nec.**] *Nec* here = sed non, as it commonly = et non.

3. **Implacabiles durant.**] It is not clear whether the nominative to durant is inimicitiae or Germans, as the word implacabilis might be applied to either. We prefer the former view.

4. **Recipit satisfactionem.**] Sc. receives this penalty as a satisfaction for the wrong. Caesar, *B. G.* VI. 9, has the phrase *accipere* satisfactionem which seems to express more clearly the notion doubtless implied here that the aggrieved party professes himself satisfied.

5. **Juxta libertatem.**] Sc. 'by the side of freedom.' This is perhaps better than 'in proportion to freedom,' though there may be the notion that the nearer you approach liberty, the greater the danger.

6. **Convictibus et hospitiis.**] *Convictus* are social gatherings among friends and neighbours; *hospitium* implies throwing open one's house to strangers and foreigners.

7. **Apparatis epulis.**] 'Well furnished entertainments.' Livy uses the same expression (XXIII. 4). Comp. Ch. 14, note 6. The idea of the word is 'careful preparation,' and so it approaches very closely the sense of 'exquisitus.'

8. **Defecere.**] Sc. epulae.

9. **Nec interest.**] It makes no difference whether they come by invitation or not.

10. **Quantum ad jus hospitis.**] Comp. *Agr.* 44, *quantum ad* gloriam.

11. **Imputant.**] 'Regard as an obligation.' A word properly used of money accounts.

12. **Victus inter hospites comis.**] These words can only mean, 'their demeanour to their guests is courteous,' and

must, if genuine, have been added by way of summing up what we have been told about German hospitality, and, perhaps, of contrasting their treatment of strangers with their quarrelsomeness over their cups among themselves, which is noticed in the following chapter. They are found in all the MSS., and it seems rash in Ritter (who follows Ernesti) to pronounce them an interpolation, as he does chiefly on the ground that Tacitus never uses 'victus' for 'vivendi modus.' Even writers of the Augustan age occasionally use the word in this sense. Lachmann has ingeniously conjectured vinculum inter omnes comitas.

CHAPTER XXII.

Every German usage noticed in this chapter is in pointed contrast with Roman habits. An ordinary Roman of the upper class rose before daybreak, had his game at ball (pila), and then took his bath; he and his friends reclined on the same couch at dinner; he must not go about armed within the city; he could not drink without disgrace before nightfall; he was much more staid and reserved than a German. Tacitus throughout this chapter is evidently describing the way of life of the chiefs and the higher class generally.

1. **Plurimum.]** Sc. the greatest part of the year.

2. **Ut inter vinolentos.]** See note on ch. 2, *ut* in licentia vetustatis. The word 'vinolentus' is not necessarily confined to the intoxication produced by wine.

3. **Transiguntur.]** See note 10, ch. 19.

4. **Asciscendis principibus.]** Asciscere principes, 'to admit into the number of their chiefs,' the same in fact as eligere.

5. **De pace...consultant.]** We have instances of this having been done by Civilis in preparing for his revolt. *Hist.* IV. 14 and 29.

6. **Simplices cogitationes.]** 'Simplex' here means 'frank, openhearted,' and so the expression is about equivalent to our word 'sincerity,' or 'candour.' It is used in the same sense *Hist.* I. 15, ego ac tu *simplicissime* inter nos hodie loquimur; *Ann.* I. 69, *simplices* eas curas; and we find the noun, *Hist.* III. 86, inerat tamen *simplicitas* et liberalitas.

7. **Astuta ... callida.]** The first word implies natural cunning; the second, that which is acquired by experience of the world. Hence, *Agr.* 9, we find the expression calliditas fori. 'Callidus' has not necessarily a bad sense, nor indeed is the bad sense uppermost in the word, as is the case with 'astutus.'

8. **Aperit adhuc secreta pectoris.]** If we construe adhuc with aperit, the meaning will be that up to the present time the Germans are simple and sincere, with an implied hint that they will not long retain these qualities. If construed with 'secreta,' the expression will mean the thoughts that have been locked in their breasts up to the time of their festive gathering. Or possibly it may be used for etiam. Compare note 9, Ch. 19. We are reminded of Horace's line (*Sat.* I. 4. 89):

Condita cum verax aperit praecordia Liber.

9. **Ergo detecta...mens.]** The consequence of their consulting under the circumstances described is introduced by 'ergo.' The subsequent clause, beginning according to the punctuation we have thought it best to adopt (postera die retractatur) states the correction of the possible ill effects of such a practice. The subject of 'retractatur' is mens, or more strictly, the results at which the 'mens' has arrived by the process described.

10. **Salva...ratio est.]** 'Ratio' expresses that which peculiarly belongs to a thing; here, 'the peculiar character or advantage of each time.' Herodotus, I. 33, mentions a precisely similar custom as prevailing among the Persians.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. **Frumento.]** Sc. 'wheat.' Commonly, 'frumentum' includes every sort of grain.

2. **Corruptus.]** Changed by the process of fermentation. Herodotus, II. 77, speaks of 'wine made from barley' as an Egyptian drink. Pliny, *H. N.* XXII. 82, says this liquor was known by the name of cerevisia in Gaul and other provinces.

3. **Ripae.]** Sc. the bank of the Rhine. According to Caesar, *B. G.* IV. 2, the Suevi would not allow wine to be imported into their territories.

4. **Recens fera.]** The meaning is not that the Germans ate their meat actually raw, but that they did not keep it so long as the Romans. Pomponius Mela, III. 3. 2, exaggerates their savageness in this respect. Caesar's account, *B. G.* IV. 1 and VI. 22, of the German diet corresponds with what we are told here. He speaks of milk, cheese, and meat as the staple of their food.

5. **Sine apparatu.]** Compare Ch. 14 and 21. 'Apparatus' here implies all the adjuncts of an elegantly furnished table.

6. **Sine blandimentis.]** 'Blandimenta' here are what Sal-

lust, *Jug.* 89, calls irritamenta gulae, and are enumerated in detail by Horace, *Sat.* II. 8. 8—9.

7. **Expellunt.]** Sc. Germani.

8. **Si indulseris...vincentur.]** Of this we have two recorded instances, *Hist.* IV. 79 and *Ann.* I. 50. In the first, one of the cohorts of Civilis, consisting of Chauci and Frisii, was entirely destroyed while in a state of intoxication by the inhabitants of the Colonia Agrippinensis. In the second, which occurred during the first campaign of Germanicus in Germany, a night attack was made by some light Roman cohorts under Caecina on the Marsi who were surprised in a drunken revel. Compare for a similar incident Herod. I. 211.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. **Unum.]** One and only one.

2. **Quibus id ludicrum est.]** 'To whom the thing is a diversion.'

3. **Infestas.]** Sc. with their points turned towards the bodies of the dancers. Louandre renders it 'qui les menacent.' It would seem that the spears were stuck in the ground with their points upwards.

4. **Artem.]** Comp. *Agr.* 36, *arte* Britanni...missilia nostrorum vitare.

5. **In quaestum aut mercedem.]** On the contrary, at Rome, the gladiator was hired and fought for pay. There were instances of ruined spendthrifts of noble birth gaining their livelihood as performers on the stage, and it is quite possible that Tacitus may have been thinking of such men.

6. **Quamvis audacis.]** 'However reckless.' 'Audax' is more frequently applied to persons than to things. We do however meet with such expressions as 'audax facinus,' 'audax consilium,' &c.

7. **Inter seria.]** 'As a serious occupation.'

8. **Juvenior.]** Tacitus seems to use this form of the comparative to draw special attention to the superior strength and vigour of youth, a notion which would not be so prominent in 'junior.'

9. **Fidem.]** Equivalent to our word 'honour.'

10. **Per commercia.]** Comp. *Agr.* 28, fuere quos *per commercia* venundatos.

11. **Exsolvant.]** Sc. liberent. Compare *Ann.* VI. 44, Donec Tiridates pudore proditionis paucos *exsolvit;* and *Hist.* III. 61, Donec Priscus et Alphenus pudore proditionis cunctos *exsolverent.*

CHAPTER XXV.

1. **Ceteris.]** Sc. all slaves not acquired in the manner just described. These might be captured in war, or obtained by regular purchase.

2. **Descriptis per familiam ministeriis.]** 'In the different services distributed among the domestics.' A wealthy Roman had a distinct set of slaves for town and city purposes. The word 'familia' answers to our 'establishment.'

3. **Sedem...penates.]** 'A house and home of his own.'

4. **Penates.]** The word expresses the idea of home with all the domestic economy connected with it. Roman slaves did not live separate and apart, but were commonly housed together under one roof in close contiguity to their master. They had little apartments called 'cellae.' See Horace, *Sat.* I. 8. 8.

5. **Colono.]** The 'colonus' was a renting farmer. The German slave thus occupied something like the position of the Roman 'cliens' in the times of the republic.

6. **Hactenus paret.]** 'Is in subjection up to this limit,' sc. of furnishing corn, &c.

7. **Cetera domus officia.]** Sc. all the other domestic duties which among the Romans were performed by slaves termed 'vernae.' By 'uxor' and 'liberi' are meant the wife and children of the master.

8. **Opere.]** Sc. 'hard labour.' Horace threatens his slave Davus (*Sat.* II. 7. 118) that he will send him off to his Sabine farm; Accedes opera agro nona Sabino.

9. **Disciplina et severitate.]** A hendiadis for severitate disciplinae, an expression which occurs *Hist.* I. 51.

10. **Nisi quod impune.]** 'Only it is done with impunity.'

11. **Aliquod momentum.]** 'An element of any considerable importance.' Freedmen at Rome often acquired enormous wealth and great political influence. Pallas, Narcissus, Polycletus, are names with which Tacitus makes us familiar. The last of these was sent by Nero on an important mission to Britain.

12. **Quae regnantur.]** Compare Ch. 43. Trans Ligios

Gothones *regnantur*. Compare also *Hist.* I. 16, where Galba, on adopting Piso, is represented as saying, 'It is not here, as it is among nations despotically ruled (*regnantur*) that there is a distinct governing family, while all the rest are slaves.'

13. **Impares libertini.]** 'The inferior condition of the freedmen;' inferior, that is, to the condition of the freeborn. No distinction is implied between 'libertus' (used above) and 'libertinus.' The term 'libertus' is the correlative of 'dominus;' 'libertinus' referred to the man's new condition and designated him as one of a class.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. **In usuras extendere.]** sc. to continue taking a succession of usurae, that is, to exact compound interest. This seems the only meaning which brings out the force of *in* usuras.

2. **Ideoque magis servatur.]** The subject of this clause is 'non fenerari,' which is to be supplied from the preceding. We are here reminded of what Tacitus remarks at the end of ch. 19, plus ibi *boni mores* valent quam alibi bonae leges. On the evils connected with usury at Rome he dwells particularly, *Ann.* VI. 16, 17, where the somewhat remarkable phrase, 'agitare fenus,' is repeated.

3. **In vices occupantur.]** We understand the meaning to be that the land here spoken of was of the nature of ager publicus, and was occupied in turns for the purposes of tillage, the chiefs and nobles having the largest portions. The distribution of the allotments would be changed from time to time. This view accords with what we are told by Caesar, *B. G.* VI. 22, that the magistrates assigned every year to families and clans settled on the same spot as much land as they thought fit, and where they chose, and compelled them in the course of a year to go elsewhere. Nor does it necessarily clash with what is said ch 20, 'that they live scattered and apart, &c.' There may have been (though Caesar, *B. G.* IV. 1, denies it) fixed properties along with such a system as seems suggested by this passage.

4. **Secundum dignationem.]** 'According to rank.' The chief receives a larger portion than the nobles, and they again than the other freeborn members of the tribe. On *dignatio*, see note 4, ch. 13.

5. **Arva per annos mutant.]** Tacitus is speaking of change of occupancy, not of possession. 'Arvum,' 'land under tillage.' Comp. Horace, *C.* III. 24. 11—16, where the habits of the Getae are described, a Thracian tribe who are said to have changed their lands annually.

6. **Superest ager.]** See note, ch. 6.

7. **Cum...contendunt.]** Kritz here reads 'laborare,' but laborare contendunt seems a strange expression. We have adhered to Orelli. The meaning is, 'they do not laboriously strive with the assistance of the fertility and extent,' &c., sc. they leave the soil to its own natural productions, and attempt nothing like scientific agriculture. Or it may be rendered, 'nor does their industry vie with the richness and extent of the soil.'

8. **Sola...imperatur.]** 'Corn alone is required from the earth.' '*Imperare*' means to require that to which you have a right, and so is used of taxes, tribute, &c. There is a rhetorical touch about its use here. Cicero, *de Senect.* XV. 51, terra nunquam recusat *imperium,* which may have possibly suggested this use of 'imperare.' Comp. also as a correlative expression, Ut quamvis avido *parerent* arva colono. Virg. *Aen.* I. 3 (obelized lines).

9. **In totidem.]** Sc. as those into which the Roman year was divided.

10. **Intellectum.]** 'Intellectus' is a word of the silver age, a marked characteristic of which was the growth of abstract terms. It is used both actively and passively, denoting 'the faculty of the understanding,' and also, as here, 'that which is understood,' and so is equivalent to our 'meaning,' 'signification.'

11. **Bona.]** 'The blessings,' 'bounty.'

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. **Funerum nulla ambitio.]** The Gauls, on the contrary, as we learn from Caesar, *B. G.* VI. 19, delighted in splendid and costly funerals. Such funerals were not uncommon at Rome. According to Pliny, *H. N.* XXXIII. 10. 47, one Isidorus, a freedman, directed that he should be buried at an expense of 11,000,000 sesterces, or about £90,000.

For the use of the word 'ambitio,' compare *Agr.* 29, quem casum neque ut plerique fortium virorum *ambitiose* tulit, and *Agr.* 42, *ambitiosa* morte.

2. **Certis lignis.]** Sc. kinds of wood appropriated by custom to this particular purpose.

3. **Vestibus.]** 'Coverings.' 'Vestis' here seems to be equivalent to 'stragula vestis,' or 'tapete.' So ch. 10, 'candidam *vestem*,' and ch. 40, 'vehiculum et *vestes*,' &c. In the account of the funeral of Germanicus (*Ann.* III. 2) we are told that the knights burnt coverings (vestem) and perfumes. From

Cic. *De Leg.* II. 24, it appears that the legal term for the sprinkling of perfumes was 'sumptuosa respersio.' Comp. also Virgil's description of the funeral of Misenus (*Aen.* VI. 221), Purpureasque super *vestes*, velamina nota, Conjiciunt. It would seem from this passage that the actual garments of the dead man were included in the general term 'vestis.'

4. **Quorundam.]** Sc. the chiefs.

5. **Equus.]** Sc. bellator equus. See ch. 14.

6. **Sepulcrum caespes erigit.]** Tacitus avoids the ordinary mode of expression, caespite erigitur. Comp. *Hist.* V. 6, praecipuum montium Libanum *erigit*. Seneca (*Ep.* 7) has the very same expression; hanc (domum) utrum caespes *erexerit* an varius lapis gentis alienae, nihil interest.

7. **Gravem defunctis.]** The peculiar force of the word 'gravis' lies in its contrast to the usual prayer in an epitaph, 'sit tibi terra *levis*.'

8. **Feminis...meminisse.]** Comp. Seneca, *Ep.* 100, Vir prudens meminisse perseveret, lugere desinat.

9. **In commune.]** 'Generally.' The phrase occurs in a somewhat different sense *Agr.* 12, *in commune* non consulunt.

10. **Instituta ritusque.]** 'Instituta' denotes civil and military customs; 'ritus,' everything connected with religious beliefs and forms of worship.

11. **Nationes.]** 'Natio' is a portion or member of a gens, which word denotes 'a people,' as, for instance, the Suevi, Lygii, &c. Comp. ch. 2, *nationis* nomen non gentis; and see note 18.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1. **Validiores.]** Sc. 'more powerful than the Germans.' This must be Tacitus' meaning, since Caesar (to whom he refers) says, *B. G.* VI. 24, that there was once a time when the Gauls were superior to the Germans in bravery.

2. **Summus.]** Referring rather to Caesar's credibility than to his literary merits as a writer.

3. **Permutaret.]** Sc. take in exchange for their previous settlements.

4. **Promiscuas.]** Open to the first comer.

5. **Regnorum potentia.]** Sc. 'powerful kingdoms.' The phrase is meant to express the power which belongs to regularly organised kingdoms.

6. **Igitur.**] 'So it comes to pass.'

7. **Hercyniam silvam.**] Caesar, *B. G.* VI. 25, appears to have regarded the Hercynian forest as almost coextensive with the southern part of Germany. Tacitus is here speaking of its western extremity. The locality which he assigns to the Helvetii would thus nearly coincide with the duchy of Baden. It should be observed that by Helvetii he means those who had quitted their own settlements, and had established themselves by conquests on the German side of the Rhine. Of these movements no particulars are known.

8. **Ulteriora Boii.**] Part of this tribe according to Caesar, *B. G.* I. 5, had crossed the Rhine and settled in Noricum, perhaps in what is now a portion of Bavaria and Bohemia.

9. **Signatque...memoriam.**] 'Serves as an indication of the old traditions of the spot,' i. e. of its invasion and occupation by the Boii.

10. **Mutatis cultoribus.**] The Boii had been expelled by the Marcomanni (see ch. 42, and *Ann.* II. 62, 63) under the leadership of Maroboduus.

11. **Ab Osis, Germanorum natione.**] Here Tacitus speaks doubtfully as to whether the Osi were a German tribe. Subsequently, ch. 43, he decides from their use of the Pannonian language and the fact of their patient submission to tribute that they could not be Germans. If we are determined that Tacitus shall not be inconsistent with himself, we must understand the words 'Germanorum natione' to represent the current conception about the Osi, which classed them among the German tribes. Ritter has ventured to substitute 'natio' for 'natione,' in order to get over this difficulty.

12. **Quia pari...erant.**] 'Because, in their like previous condition of poverty and independence, either bank had the same advantages and the same drawbacks.' Understand by 'utriusque ripae' the right and left banks of the Danube which were occupied respectively by the Aravisci and Osi. The words 'bona malaque' have their explanation in 'inopia ac libertate.' Neither tribe had any special inducement to cross from one side of the Danube to the other.

13. **Treveri.**] Caesar, *B. G.* VIII. 25, describes the Treveri as very like the Germans. It is singular that the Roman general Cerialis in addressing them (*Hist.* IV. 75, 74) makes no allusion to this supposed German origin, but rather speaks of them as Gauls whom Roman intervention had delivered from German oppression.

14. **Nervii.**] One of the most powerful tribes of Belgic Gaul. They were neighbours of the Treveri.

15. **Circa affectationem.]** 'In the matter of claiming.' This is a post-Augustan use of the preposition circa, and answers to the metaphorical sense of our 'about.'

16. **Ultro.]** The word answers to our 'actually,' and seems to express the writer's surprise.

17. **Similitudine et inertia.]** A hendiadis for 'similitudine inertiae.' Comp. coeno ac palude, ch. 12; maculis pellibusque, 25; disciplina ac severitate, 28; oblectationi oculisque, 33; castra ac spatia, 37.

18. **Ripam.]** Sc. the Gallic bank of the Rhine.

19. **Haud dubie Germanorum populi.]** 'Peoples unquestionably German.'

20. **Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes.]** These three tribes are mentioned by Caesar, *B. G.* I. 51, as forming part of the army of the German Ariovistus, and the name of the Triboci occurs *B. G.* IV. 10. Pliny, *H. N.* IV. 31, defines their locality, which was on the west bank of the Rhine, and seems to have stretched southwards from Moguntiacum (Mayence). It would thus coincide with part of the Rhine provinces. Borbitomagus (Worms) was the capital of the Vangiones; Noviomagus (Spire) that of the Nemetes.

The Vangiones and Triboci are mentioned *Hist.* IV. 70.

21. **Ne Ubii quidem...meruerint.]** The Ubii allied themselves to Caesar and helped him in his battles with the Suevi. This was the beginning of their claim to be made a Roman colony, a distinction which appears to have been finally conferred upon them A.D. 51 by the famous Agrippina, the wife of the Emperor Claudius, who was born in their territory. See *Ann.* XII. 27. Her grandfather, Marcus Agrippa, probably B.C. 49, had removed them from their original settlements on the German side of the Rhine to the western or Gallic bank, and had placed them under the protection of Rome. This explains the words, transgressi olim.

22. **Libentius...vocentur.]** Compare *Hist.* IV. 28, where it is said that 'the Ubii, a nation of German origin, had forsworn their native country and assumed the Roman name of the Agrippinenses.' It is not quite clear whether by 'conditoris sui' Tacitus means Agrippa or Agrippina.

23. **Origine erubescunt.]** Comp. *Hist.* IV. 64, where the legates of the Tencteri dwell on this fact.

24. **Experimento fidei.]** Sc. in consideration of the proof which they had given of their fidelity.

25. **Ut arcerent.]** 'That they might keep off foes.'

CHAPTER XXIX.

1. **Harum.]** Sc. the tribes on the banks of the Rhine.

2. **Non multum ex ripa.]** 'A small portion of the bank.' The words will not bear the meaning which some interpreters have put on them, 'not far from the bank.'

3. **Insulam Rheni amnis.]** Tacitus thus briefly denotes the island formed by the Rhine, Vahal, and Mosa. See *Hist.* IV. 12. It was known as 'insula Batavorum.'

4. **In quibus...fierent.]** 'Where it was destined they should become,' &c. Compare *Agr.* 34, Defixere aciem in his vestigiis *in quibus* pulcram et spectabilem victoriam ederetis.

5. **Antiquae societatis insigne.]** It seems far-fetched to refer 'insigne' with Ritter to the 'dextrae' (clasped right hands) mentioned *Hist.* I. 54, and II. 8, as emblems of friendship and good faith. The words find a more natural explanation in the following sentence.

6. **Nam nec tributis...atterit.]** 'For neither are they insulted by tribute, nor does the tax-gatherer impoverish them.'

7. **Exempti oneribus et collationibus.]** 'Onera' were the fixed annual taxes; 'collationes,' special and extraordinary contributions made after some great loss, such, for instance, as we read of *Ann.* I. 71, where we find that the provinces of Gaul, Spain and Italy, supplied the army of Germanicus, which had just returned from its campaign in Germany, with arms, horses, money, &c. Pliny (*Paneg.* 41) praises Trajan for having dispensed with these contributions, which were not always voluntary, but were occasionally exacted. The Batavi are represented as saying (*Hist.* V. 25) that 'not tribute, but valour and brave soldiers, were required from them.' (Sibi non tributa sed virtutem et viros indici.)

8. **Tantum...sepositi.]** 'Reserved only for the purposes of fighting.' For the word 'sepositi' compare *Agr.* 31, ostendamus quos sibi Caledonia viros *seposuerit*.

9. **Velut tela atque arma.]** Comp. *Hist.* IV. 12, where the Batavi are said to furnish nothing to the Roman empire but 'men and *arms*.'

10. **Mattiacorum gens.]** The Mattiaci were not neighbours of the Batavi, as might be supposed from their being mentioned in close connexion with them. Their settlements were considerably to the south, on the German side of the Rhine, and about Wiesbaden. It appears from *Hist.* IV. 3,

that previous to the reign of Trajan (of which Tacitus is here speaking) they had not always been in subjection to Rome, for they are there said to have united with the Chatti and Usipii in besieging the Roman colony of Mogontiacum.

11. **Mente...agunt.]** 'In sentiment and spirit,' or, 'in heart and mind they are with us.' Agunt=vivunt, sunt.

12. **Ipso adhuc...coelo.]** The Mattiaci still (adhuc) occupied their original settlements, which being on comparatively high ground, were colder than those of the Batavi.

13. **Acrius animantur.]** 'They have a keener courage.' The idea of spirit and enterprise is implied in the expression.

14. **Decumates agros.]** The phrase occurs nowhere else, but it is almost certain that it must mean the same as 'decumanus ager' (land which pays tithe), of which we have continual mention in Cicero's Verrine speeches with reference to Sicily. In *Ann.* XIII. 54, we hear of lands set apart for the use of the soldiery (agros vacuos et militum usui sepositos), so that perhaps these 'decumates agri' were of the same kind, and contributed a tenth of their produce to the sustenance of the Roman armies in Upper and Lower Germany.

15. **Levissimus.]** Sc. the most restless, unsettled, &c.

16. **Dubiae possessionis solum.]** The 'decumates agri' are said to be of 'doubtful ownership' because they were neither reduced to the form of a province, nor again were the inhabitants perfectly independent, since they occupied the land on condition of parting with a tenth of its produce for Roman purposes.

17. **Limite acto.]** Compare *Agr.* 41, *limite* imperii. The boundary line in question was the work of the Emperor Trajan; its object was to preserve the 'decumates agri' from the incursions of the Germans. It appears to have been drawn from somewhere about Ratisbon to Mayence, thus enclosing portions of Wurtemburg and Baden. The word 'acto' expresses the drawing of an actual visible boundary.

18. **Sinus imperii.]** Sc. 'the furthest nook of our empire.'

19. **Pars provinciae.]** sc. the province of Upper Germany, or of Rhaetia.

20. **Habentur.]** Sc. the inhabitants of the 'decumates agri,' which by means of the 'limes' were, as it were, brought into the Roman world.

CHAPTER XXX.

1. **Chatti.]** This tribe is wrongly described by Caesar, *B. G.* IV. 19, as a branch of the Suevi.

2. **Ultra hos.]** Ultra means further in a north-easterly direction. It is a question whether 'hos' refers to the inhabitants of the decumates agri (who are the last mentioned) or to the Mattiaci. Ultra would have a much more precise meaning in the latter case than in the former, as the settlements of the Chatti bordered on those of the Mattiaci. They were further from the Rhine, and to the north of them. The passage from Non numeraverim to the end of ch. 29 has the appearance of a parenthesis, so that it seems possible (with Kritz) to understand 'hos' of the Mattiaci, the last German tribe mentioned.

3. **Non ita effusis...]** We have adhered in this passage to the punctuation of Orelli and Ritter. Kritz does not seem to make it much clearer by beginning a new sentence at this point, and taking effusis...locis as an ablative which expresses the cause of the Chatti continuing (durant) to dwell in their own settlements, and not migrating as some of the other tribes. It is better to take it simply as an ablative of place, and to connect it with the preceding. The following words, durant ... rarescunt (which have been variously explained) appear to mean, 'They (the Chatti) extend, if (sc. wherever) the hill-ranges extend, and gradually diminish in number as the country becomes less hilly.' (Durant siquidem colles durant, paullatimque rarescunt siquidem colles rarescunt). An antithesis seems intended between 'durant' and 'inchoant.' Louandre, as we think, rightly, renders durant by s'y prolongent. It is hardly necessary to suppose with some interpreters that the word must mean, 'they endure to dwell,' or 'are constrained to dwell.' The territory of the Chatti would appear to have been rather desirable than otherwise, when compared with the rest of Germany.

4. **Chattos suos......deponit.]** There is something bold and poetic about this passage. The Hercynian forest is personified, and the Chatti are regarded as its 'alumni.' 'Deponit,' 'leaves,' 'sees the last of.'

5. **Stricti.]** "Close-knit." '*Strictus*' is opposed to laxus, solutus, flaccidus.

6. **Ut inter Germanos.]** Sc. 'Considering they are Germans,' who as a rule were rash and impetuous.

7. **Nosse ordines.]** Understand by 'ordines' 'regular military array.' Comp. *Hist.* I. 68, *ordines* sequi. The 'sollertia' of the Chatti is illustrated entirely in reference to war.

8. **Occasiones.]** Sc. Favourable opportunities of attacking the enemy.

9. **Disponere diem.]** 'Portion out the day.' Referring to the division of the day into watches. Comp. Pliny, *Epp.* IX. 36, quaeris quem ad modum in Tuscis diem aestate *disponam*.

10. **Vallare noctem.]** Sc. Noctu castra vallare. Or perhaps better to take the words thus; 'render night secure by an intrenchment.' This gives a more picturesque turn to the sentence.

11. **Nec nisi Romanae disciplinae concessum.]** We retain the reading Romanae which has the weight of MS. authority. It must mean, 'to no *other* discipline than the Roman.' The reading 'ratione' which Ritter adopts from the suggestion of a copyist, gives perhaps a preferable sense, 'made possible only by systematic discipline.'

12. **Ad bellum.]** 'To a campaign,' as contrasted with a single engagement (praelium). Comp. *Hist.* II. 40, non ut ad pugnam sed ad bellandum profecti.

13. **Fortuita pugna.]** Sc. Rara est.

14. **Equestrium sane virium.]** Tribes whose chief strength consisted in cavalry, which in the judgment of a Roman was less capable of regular organisation than infantry, and was thus more fitted for 'casual encounters' (fortuita pugna), are here contrasted with the Chatti. Compare Sall. *Hist. Fr.* More equestris praelii sumtis tergis atque redditis.

15. **Velocitas ...... est.]** 'Fleetness and timidity go together; slowness of movement is more akin to steady courage." 'Juxta' is used in the same way *Ann.* VI. 42, populi imperium *juxta* libertatem. 'Constantia' implies 'deliberate and disciplined courage.'

CHAPTER XXXI.

1. **Aliis Germanorum ...... audentia.]** 'What with other German tribes is a rare practice and confined to individual daring.' Audentia has here a favourable meaning. Comp. ch. 34, nec defuit *audentia* Druso, &c.

2. **Crinem barbamque submittere.]** 'Submittere' is equivalent to the more usual 'promittere,' 'to let grow.'

3. **Nec nisi hoste caeso.]** Civilis, the Batavian, (whose ancestors were Chatti) did this. See *Hist.* IV. 61.

4. **Obligatumque virtuti oris habitum.]** Sc. the bearded face, which is a symbol that they have devoted themselves to valour. 'Obligatum' is for 'quo se obligârunt,' and it is joined to virtuti by a kind of hypallage. The beard and long hair were the outward sign (oris habitus) of their devotion to war.

5. **Super sanguinem et spolia.]** Sc. as they stood over their enemy's bleeding corpse, &c. The meaning is, "as soon as they have slaughtered and spoiled a foe."

6. **Frontem revelant.]** Sc. they remove the long hair. 'Frons' here means the face generally.

7. **Pretia......rettulisse.]** 'They have paid the due price for birth;' sc. they have fulfilled the purpose of their existence. The expression is thus equivalent to 'vitam meruisse.'

8. **Ignavis et imbellibus.]** See note 3, ch. 12.

9. **Squalor.]** Sc. the condition of being unshorn.

10. **Absolvat.]** Sc. from the disgrace attached to him.

11. **Habitus.]** Sc. the wearing of this iron ring.

12. **Jamque canent insignes.]** 'They even attain old age, with this distinction.' Insignes (for insigniti) means 'marked out by the iron ring.' Comp. Ch. 38, Apud Suevos usque ad canitiem &c.

13. **Visu nova.]** 'strange,' 'unfamiliar.'

14. **Prodigi alieni, contemptores sui.]** Compare Sall. *Cat.* v. *alieni* appetens, *sui* profusus, which passage perhaps Tacitus had in his mind.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1. **Certum jam alveo.]** 'Well-defined in regard to its channel,' sc. the channel is comparatively narrow, deep, and not broken up by islets. Tacitus is speaking of the Rhine from Cologne to somewhere about Arnheim.

2. **Tencteri.]** This tribe is mentioned *Hist.* IV. 64, as having taken a prominent part in the revolt of Civilis. The Usipii and Tencteri seem to have occupied the country between Coblenz and Wiesbaden.

3. **Rhenum...... colunt.]** Rhenum for Rheni ripam.

4. **Familiam.]** 'The slaves and domestics.'

5. **Penates.]** 'The house itself and its various adjuncts.'

6. **Ferox.]** 'High-spirited.'

7. **Melior.]** Sc. superior in war.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1. **Bructeri.]** The Bructeri were neighbours of the Usipii, with whom they are mentioned *Ann.* I. 51. From *Ann.* I. 60, and Strabo, VII. I. 3, it appears that the river Luppia (Lippe) ran through their territory. We have no historical record of the event alluded to in the words 'pulsis ac penitus excisis.' It is not improbable that it may have occurred after the rebellion of Civilis had been crushed by the Romans.

2. **Chamavos et Angrivirios.]** The Chamavi are mentioned *Ann.* XIII. 55, where it is said that their original settlements were subsequently those of the Tubantes and Usipii, the Bructeri not being named. At this time they appear to have been settled on the banks of the Weser. The Angrivarii, as may probably be inferred from *Ann.* II. 19 and 41, occupied districts between the Weser and Elbe. Dr. Latham suggests that the termination of the name is the 'ware' in Cantware and =occupants, inhabitants.

3. **Consensu.]** 'Coalition.'

4. **Nam ne .... invidere.]** Comp. *Ann.* I. 22, Ne hostes quidem sepultura *invident.* 'Spectaculo' is the ablative. "They did not grudge or stint us even in the spectacle of the battle." We see the transition to this construction with the ablative from the common usage of the Augustan age illustrated by Cic. *De Orat.* II. 56, Nisi interdum in hoc Crasso paullum inviderem. Quintilian, IX. 3. 1, remarks that in his time the ablative was used with invidere when Cicero would have used the accusative. We do not know to what particular event Tacitus is here alluding. It must have occurred between A. D. 70 and 98 (the date of this work) since from several passages of the *Historiae* (IV. 21. 61. 77, V. 18) it appears that at the commencement of Vespasian's reign the Bructeri were still in existence.

5. **Oblectationi oculisque.]** A dativus commodi. The expression is a hendiadis. See note 17, ch. 28. Tacitus was no doubt thinking of the pleasure which the Romans derived from the gladiatorial contests.

6. **Quando.]** 'Since.'

7. **Urgentibus imperii fatis.]** We retain Orelli's reading (which is also that of Ritter), as we see nothing gained by the *in* urgentibus of Kritz, who interprets the words as equivalent to si forte accidat ut fatalia tempora instent. Tacitus seems rather to mean that 'fatalia tempora' were even then looming, notwithstanding the promise of prosperity given by the com-

mencement of Trajan's reign, on which he dwells with evident pleasure *Agr.* 3. Without assuming that he was thoroughly convinced that the empire had entered on a period of inevitable decline (as the reading vergentibus would imply), it is at least by no means improbable that its vast extent and miscellaneous character inspired him with vague apprehensions, and that among the elements of danger Germany from its special circumstances would be likely to hold a prominent place. His general meaning seems to be very accurately represented by a passage from Matthew Arnold's poem on Heine's Grave, in which he speaks thus of England:

Staggering on to her goal;
Bearing on shoulders immense,
Atlanteän, the load,
Well nigh not to be borne,
Of the too vast orb of her fate.

The last line comes very near to the notion of 'urgentibus fatis,' in which the ideas of a heavy pressure and blind hurrying on are probably combined.

8. **Nihil jam......discordiam.]** Comp. *Agr.* 12, Nec aliud adversus validissimas gentes pro nobis utilius quam quod *in commune non consulunt*, and *Ann.* II. 62, Haud leve decus Drusus quaesivit, illiciens Germanos *ad discordias*. Precisely similar to the sentiment here expressed is the well-known 'divide et impera.'

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1. **A tergo.]** 'Tergum' as opposed to 'frons' (which in 'a fronte' clearly means north or north-west) must mean to the south-east. The Dulgubini would probably be somewhere between the Angrivarii and the Weser. Their locality however, and that of the Chasuarii, cannot be accurately defined.

2. **Aliaeque ...... memoratae.]** Meaning, perhaps, such tribes as the Ansibarii (*Ann.* XIII. 55) and Tubantes (*Ann.* I. 51), which are here passed over as not equally famous (haud perinde memoratae) with the rest.

3. **Frisii.]** This tribe (which is often mentioned in the *Annals* and *History*, and *Agr.* 28) occupied the extreme north of Germany from the Rhine to the Ems. They are noticed by Pliny and Ptolemy, but only Tacitus speaks of their division into majores and minores Frisii. 'A fronte excipiunt,' that is to say, between the Angrivarii and Chamavi and the western or Roman boundary from which Tacitus regards them.

4. **Praetexuntur.]** 'Are fringed by.' The metaphor is taken from the border (praetexta) of the toga.

5. **Lacus.]** These 'lakes' (now known as the Zuyderzee) are continually mentioned in the account of the campaigns of Germanicus. See *Ann.* I. 60. 63. 70 and II. 8. The "fossa Drusiana" (*Ann.* II. 8), which united the Rhine and Yssel, opened a communication with the lakes in question.

6. **Druso Germanico.]** It seems better to take this with Orelli of Drusus alone, the father of Germanicus, than with Kritz of both the father and the son. Such an asyndeton would be needlessly harsh and obscure, as Ritter, who inserts *ac*, has noticed. Drusus is spoken of, *Hist.* V. 19, as Drusus Germanicus. His son was not so much an explorer as an avenger of the defeat of Varus. This makes Orelli's view the more probable. The following words (Mox nemo tentavit), which seem to contradict it, must be understood of exploring expeditions rather than of ordinary campaigns.

7. **Quam scire.]** Sc. than to pry into them with the purpose of ascertaining the actual facts.

CHAPTER XXXV.

1. **Hactenus ...... novimus.]** Sc. this is the extent of my knowledge of western Germany.

2. **In septentrionem ...... redit.]** Sc. "It runs up northwards, and returns southwards, with a vast sweep." Comp. for this use of 'redire' VIRG. *Georg.* III. 351, Quaque redit medium Rhodope porrecta sub axem, where the word 'redit' indicates the winding course of the mountain-range, which stretches northwards and then takes a semi-circular bend to the south. The "vast sweep" (ingenti flexu) is the Cimbric Chersonesus, and is the same as the 'lati sinus' mentioned ch. I, where see note. Comp. also 37, Eundem Germaniae *sinum* proximi Oceano Cimbri tenent.

3. **Chaucorum gens.]** Pliny, *H.N.* XVI. 1, divides the Chauci into majores and minores, and makes the Visurgis (Weser) the boundary between them. In *Ann.* XI. 19, Tacitus recognises this distinction (missis qui majores Chaucos ad deditionem pellicerent). The Chauci majores seem to have been settled between the Weser and the Elbe, the minores between the Weser and the Ems. Though in this passage Tacitus describes them favourably, it appears from *Hist.* IV. 79, V. 19, that they aided Civilis in his revolt.

4. **Lateribus.]** Sc. the eastern frontiers.

5. **Donec ...... sinuetur.]** Referring to their southern boundary.

6. **Sed et implent.]** Comp. Vell. Paterc. II. 106, where the youth of the Chauci are spoken of as 'infinita numero.'

7. **Sine impotentia.]** "Without lawless violence." (*C* and *B*).

8. **Secretique.]** Sc. keeping aloof from other tribes.

9. **Assequuntur.]** Equivalent to 'efficiunt.' 'They attain the res it' described in the words "ut superiores agant."

10. **Exercitus &c.]** Understand 'promptus est.' The words 'plurimum virorum equorumque' are best taken in apposition with 'exercitus,' and seem to be added with the view of pointing a contrast between the Chauci on one hand and such tribes as the Chatti and Tencteri on the other, which could not boast of strength in both cavalry and infantry. See ch. 30 and 32.

11. **Eadem fama.]** Sc. the same renown as in war.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1. **In latere.]** Sc. on the eastern or south-eastern frontier. The tribes are conceived as looking towards the northern sea. Comp. Ch. 34, note 1.

2. **Cherusci.]** The Cherusci from Caesar's description of them, *B. G.* VI. 10, must have occupied regions between the Weser and the Elbe. The 'silva Bacenis,' he tells us, formed a barrier between them and their enemies, the Suevi. Under their chief Arminius they defeated and destroyed three Roman legions commanded by Varus, A.D. 9.

3. **Nutrierunt.]** Almost equivalent to 'auxerunt.' Comp. *Agr.* 40, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus *auxit.*

4. **Quia falso quiescas.]** "Because you would be peaceful under a delusion," sc. 'peacefulness would be a delusion,' &c.

5. **Impotentes.]** Sc. 'sui;' lawless, unable to restrain the impulses of greed. It was the especial distinction of the Chauci (35) that they were *sine impotentia.*

6. **Ubi manu ...... sunt.]** "Where matters are decided by force, moderation and justice are terms applied (only) to the more powerful." It is implied that what is despised as cowardice in the weak, is regarded as a praiseworthy moderation in the strong.

7. **Ex aequo.]** 'On equal terms.' Comp. *Agr.* Civitates quae in illum diem *ex aequo* egerant.

8. **Chattis ...... cessit.]** "In the case of the victorious Chatti success (fortuna) has been identified with prudence" (*C* and

B). In sapientiam = ut sapientia videatur. The Chatti and Cherusci are described *Ann.* XII. 28, as having been at perpetual feud.

9. **Tracti ruina.**] "Dragged down in the fall (of the Cherusci)." Comp. *Hist.* III. 29, pinnas ac summa valli *ruina sua traxit* (ballista); *Ann.* VI. 26, Agrippinae pernicies Plancinam *traxit;* and *Hist.* I. 48, Galbae amicitia in abruptum *tractus.*

10. **Fosi.**] This name possibly survives in that of the river Fuse, a branch of the Aller. If so, the Fosi occupied part of Hanover, perhaps the neighbourhood of the town of Celle.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1. **Eundem Germaniae sinum.**] See notes ch. 1 and 35. Pliny, *H. N.* II. 67, designates this part of Germany as Cimbrorum promontorium.

2. **Utraque ripa.**] Sc. on the Rhine and Danube. Kritz thinks the expression means both banks of the Rhine; but there would be no special significance in this.

3. **Castra ac spatia.**] "Vast encampments." A hendiadis.

4. **Molem manusque.**] "The immense military strength." The word 'manus' is here used in its strict sense.

5. **Tam magni exitus fidem.**] "Evidence of so extensive a migration." Caesar, *B. G.* I. 5, uses the word 'exire' in the sense of emigrating. (Helvetii id quod constituerunt facere conantur ut e finibus suis *exeant.*) 'Exitus' therefore (which is the reading of all the MSS.) may very well bear this meaning, though there seems to be no precisely similar instance of the use. *Metiri fidem* is to measure or estimate (in this case it would be to estimate highly) the credit to be attached to an alleged fact.

6. **Caecilio Metello ac Papirio Carbone coss.**] This was 113 B. C., in which year Carbo was defeated near Noreia.

7. **Colliguntur.**] 'Are the result;' a meaning akin to the logical use of the word in the sense of 'to infer.'

8. **Ad alterum consulatum.**] Sc. A. D. 98. This passage determines the date of the composition of this work.

9. **Tamdiu Germania vincitur.**] "So long have we been trying to conquer Germany." The present tense implies that the work is still unaccomplished at the time of writing.

10. **Invicem damna.**] Comp. *Hist.* I. 2, nobilitatus cladibus mutuis Dacus.

11. **Saepius admonuere.**] "given us more frequent warnings."

12. **Regno Arsacis.**] Comp. Ch. 25, note 12.

13. **Caedem Crassi.**] Crassus perished with his army in the East B. C. 53.

14. **Pacoro.**] Pacorus was the son of the Parthian king, Orodes, and, as we are told *Hist.* v. 9, seized Judaea, and was ultimately crushed by Publius Ventidius A. D. 39. His name occurs in Horace, *C.* III. 6. 9.

Amisso et ipse, &c.] Sc. which itself lost in a Pacorus an equivalent for Crassus, &c.

15. **Infra Ventidium dejectus.**] This is said contemptuously. '*Dejectus*' implies a disgraceful fall. Ventidius, the conqueror of Pacorus, was a man of low origin. He had been brought to Rome as a captive, and was said to have made a fortune by buying and selling mules. He rose to distinction through his connexion with Caius Julius Caesar under whom he served in Gaul.

16. **Carbone.**] See note 6.

17. **Cassio ...... Manlio.**] Cassius Longinus and Scaurus Aurelius were defeated by the Tigurini and Cimbri A. D. 107, Caepio and Manlius, A. D. 105.

18. **Etiam Caesari abstulere.**] "They have robbed even a Caesar" (*C* and *B*). This is opposed to the losses which are said in the preceding clause to have fallen on the Populus Romanus. There is possibly something of republican bitterness in the sentiment. The armies now belonged to Caesar. Comp. the last words of Augustus, Suet. *Oct.* 23, Quintili Vare legiones *redde.*

19. **Caius Marius in Italia.**] Referring to Marius' great victory over the Cimbri and Teutones in the Campi Raudii B. C. 101.

20. **Divus Julius in Gallia.**] From B. C. 58 to B. C. 53 Caesar was continually engaged in wars with the Usipii, Tencteri, Sigambri, Suevi, &c. all German tribes.

21. **Drusus, &c.**] Drusus, the elder; Nero, or Tiberius, brother of Drusus, and afterwards emperor; Germanicus, the son of Drusus, whose campaigns in Germany are related in the 1st. and 2nd books of the Annals.

22. **Gaii Caesaris minae.**] Comp. *Hist.* IV. 15, Caianarum expeditionum ludibrium; *Agr.* 13, agitasse Gaium Caesarem de intranda Britannia satis constat ni velox ingenio mobilis poeni-

tentiae et ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent. Suetonius (*Calig.* 47) tells us that the Emperor Caius procured with the view of making his triumph more imposing some captives and deserters from Gaul and caused them to dye their hair red, and to assume German names. Domitian did the same thing. See *Agr.* 39.

23. **Otium.]** Sc. during the reigns of Claudius and Nero.

24. **Discordiae nostrae, &c. &c.]** Referring to the wars 1, between Galba and Otho, 2, between Vespasian and Vitellius. Of this latter war Civilis, who contemplated the foundation of an empire of Gaul, took advantage for his revolt. See *Hist.* IV. 12, V. 15, etc.

25. **Gallias affectavere.]** Sc. Galliarum imperium affectavere. Comp. *Agr.* 7, *affectati* a Vespasiano imperii.

26. **Inde.]** Sc. from Gaul.

27. **Proximis temporibus, &c.]** Sc. the times of Domitian, whose sham triumph over the Chatti is alluded to *Agr.* 39. Comp. also Plin. *Paneg.* 16, Accipiet ergo aliquando Capitolium non mimicos currus, nec falsae simulacra victoriae.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1. **Suevis.]** The Suevi are said by Caesar, *B. G.* IV. 1, to have been by far the most numerous and warlike of the German peoples, and to have occupied a hundred 'pagi' from each of which they annually sent out on warlike expeditions 1000 men. Under this general name were comprehended the tribes between the Elbe and Vistula as far north as the Baltic.

2. **Propriis...discreti.]** 'As yet divided into distinct tribes with designations of their own.' They had not yet (adhuc) formed themselves into one people. This seems here the more natural sense of adhuc than that which Kritz gives it of 'etiam.'

3. **Obliquare crinem.]** Sc. to twist the hair out of its natural direction into a knot on the top of the head.

4. **Rarum, &c.]** Sc. the practice described in the words 'obliquare crinem.'

5. **Usque ad canitiem...sequuntur.]** Comp. Quint. XI. 3. 1, capillos a fronte contra naturam retroagere ut sit horror ille terribilis. Construe horrentem with capillum. Their hair was twisted back (contra naturam); hence the effect described by 'horrentem.' There is a difficulty about the words retro sequuntur. The passage just quoted would seem to suggest that they are to

be taken together in the sense of *retroagere* (to twist, or comb back), and this is Orelli's interpretation, though he admits it is harsh and cannot be paralleled. If we may suppose that retro can be connected with 'horrentem capillum,' the word 'sequuntur' becomes intelligible, and will have the same meaning which it has Ch. 5, argentum magis quam aurum sequuntur. The sense will then be, 'the Suevi affect the fashion,' &c. &c.

6. **In ipso solo vertice religant.]** Comp. Juvenal XIII. 165, madido torquentem cornua cirro; this is said of the Germans. The word 'solo' (which Ritter omits) must imply that in many cases (saepe) the hair was tied in a single knot on the very top of the head. It can hardly be equivalent to 'calvus,' as Kritz who compares the expression with 'sola loca' takes it.

7. **Ornatiorem.]** They were not content simply to tie their hair, but raised it by an elaborate process to a great height.

8. **Ea cura formae sed innoxiae.]** 'Such is their study of a comely appearance, yet of one which is perfectly innocent.' The following sentence explains the writer's meaning. The Germans were a contrast to the profligate Roman youth such as Cicero describes them *Catil.* II. 10, quos pexo capillo, nitidos, aut imberbes aut bene barbatos videtis.

9. **In altitudinem quandam et terrorem.]** 'With a view to a tall and terror-striking appearance.' It is best, we think, to take 'compti' with these words, and we have therefore adopted Orelli's punctuation in preference to that of Kritz.

10. **Ornantur.]** 'They adorn themselves.'

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1. **Semnones.]** The Semnones are mentioned with the Langobardi *Ann.* II. 45, where they are said to have been under the rule of Maroboduus and to have joined in the revolt of Arminius. They occupied a territory between the Elbe and Oder.

2. **Auguriis ... sacram.]** A hexameter line of which 19 instances occur in Tacitus. The passage is of a poetic character, and reminds us of Virg. *Aen.* VIII. 598, 'Relligione patrum late sacer,' and *Georg.* IV. 468, 'Et caligantem nigra formidine lucum.' By 'auguriis' we must understand the ceremonies connected with the consecration of the grove. 'Prisca formidine,' 'immemorial associations of terror.' (*C* and *B*).

3. **Ejusdem sanguinis.]** Sc. of Suevic race. In this

religious custom of all the Suevi assembling in this grove of the Semnones was the proof of the claims advanced by this particular tribe.

4. **Caesoque publice homine.**] This would be a prisoner of war. Comp. *Ann.* XIV. 30, where Tacitus says of the Britons, cruore captivo adolere aras et hominum fibris consulere Deos fas habebant.

5. **Ut minor ... ferens.**] 'As an inferior and one who acknowledges the power of a divinity.' 'Ferens,' 'displaying,' 'acknowledging,' 'attesting;' 'prae se,' 'openly,' 'visibly.'

6. **Evolvuntur.**] The word is used in the middle sense, 'They crawl out.'

7. **Eoque omnis...tanquam, &c.**] Sc. all this superstition implies, &c. The epexegesis of 'eo' is in the clause tanquam inde...parentia. Compare for the phrase 'respicit tanquam,' Ch. 12, diversitas supplicii illuc *respicit*, *tanquam* scelera ostendi oporteat, dum puniuntur, flagitia abscondi. The word 'superstitio' denoted to a Roman some foreign kind of religious belief. Comp. *Ann.* XIII. 32, Pomponia Graecina ... *superstitionis* externae rea and XV. 44, where the word is applied to Christianity.

8. **Adjicit auctoritatem.**] Sc. 'adds weight to this superstitio.'

9. **Fortuna Semnonum.**] 'The greatness of the Semnones.' Fortuna is used here, as elsewhere, absolutely in the sense of 'prosperity,' 'high position.'

10. **Corpore.**] Comp. for this use of 'corpus' in the sense of a community, *Ann.* XIII. 27, late fusum id *corpus*, sc. of freedmen, and *Hist.* IV. 64, *corpus* nomenque Germaniae.

CHAPTER XL.

1. **Langobardi.**] See note 1, Ch. 39. The settlements of the Langobardi were on the west of the Elbe. Velleius characterises them as a gens etiam Germana ferocitate ferocior.

2. **Paucitas nobilitat.**] 'Their fewness' (as contrasted with the vast multitude of the Semnones) 'makes them famous.'

3. **Reudigni ... Nuithones.**] These tribes, so far as their locality can be fixed, occupied what are now the duchies of Mecklenburg and Sleswick-Holstein, and, perhaps, part of Pomerania.

4. **Nerthum.**] This is the reading of most of the MSS., and is retained by Orelli, and by Kritz in his last edition. The

reading *Ertha* is a very doubtful conjecture of Ritter, who thinks Tacitus would have certainly described the goddess by a name of feminine form. *Nerthus* may be derived from a Celtic word 'nerth' (strength) and so express the notion of 'vigour, fecundity,' &c.

5. **Invehi populis.]** Sc. 'visits nations in her chariot.'

6. **Insula Oceani.]** Probably the island of Rugen.

7. **Castum nemus.]** 'Castum' here is a rather more poetic word than 'sacrum' would be, but means the same. It is specially appropriate to a grove sacred to a goddess. Comp. Horat. *C.* I. 12, 59, Tu parum *castis* inimica mittes Fulmina lucis.

8. **Veste.]** See note 3, Ch. 27.

9. **Is intelligit.]** The pronoun is emphatic; 'he can recognize.'

10. **Penetrali.]** Sc. the consecrated car (vehiculum) just mentioned.

11. **Non bella ineunt.]** We may compare the mediaeval practice of 'the Truce of GOD.'

12. **Festa loca.]** 'all places wear a holiday garb.'

13. **Tunc tantum ... amata.]** 'Are known and welcomed only on these occasions,' sc. when the goddess is present.

14. **Templo.]** Sc. the sacred grove. 'Templum' is here used in its strict sense of τέμενος. The two words, it will be remembered, are the same.

15. **Numen ipsum abluitur.]** There was a similar ceremony at Rome in connexion with the worship of the Mater Deum.

16. **Sanctaque ignorantia.]** 'A pious ignorance.' Comp. Ch. 9, *sanctius* visum de actis deorum credere quam scire.

CHAPTER XLI.

1. **In secretiora Germaniae.]** Sc. the remoter and more northern parts of the country, of which the Romans knew but little.

2. **Propior.]** Nearer, that is, to the Roman provinces on the south of the Danube, Vindelicia, Noricum, Pannonia, &c.

3. **Hermundurorum.]** The Hermunduri would appear from a comparison of Tacitus (who mentions them from time to time in the *Annals*) and Velleius Paterc. II. 106 (where they are coupled with the Semnones) to have occupied portions of Bavaria,

and to have skirted the bank of the Danube in the neighbourhood of Ratisbon. Tacitus can hardly be right in saying that the Elbe rises in their territory. Very possibly he confounded that river with one of its branches, the Saal.

4. **Penitus.]** 'Far inland.'

5. **In splendidissima...colonia.]** 'In the most flourishing colony of the province of Rhaetia.' Tacitus no doubt means Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg), founded by Augustus about A. D. 14.

6. **Sine custode transeunt.]** The Tencteri, on the contrary, complained (*Hist.* IV. 64) to the Agrippinenses that the Romans compelled them to hold intercourse with their neighbours unarmed and all but stripped, watched by sentinels (*sub custode*) and taxed for the privilege.

7. **Flumen inclitum et notum olim.]** The allusion is to the German expeditions of Drusus, of his son Germanicus, of Domitius Ahenobarbus and Tiberius. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the grandfather of the Emperor Nero, crossed the Elbe and penetrated further into the country than any Roman before him (see *Ann.* IV. 44). The date of his expedition is uncertain. That of Tiberius was undertaken A. D. 5, and is described by Velleius, II. 106, as an extraordinary effort, and exceeding all expectation. A Roman army marched from the Rhine to the Elbe, 400 miles.

CHAPTER XLII.

1. **Naristi.]** The MSS. fluctuate between Narisci and Naristi. Ptolemy, II. 1. 23, speaks of them as Οὐαρίστοι. They were to the east of the Hermunduri, and in Bavaria.

2. **Marcomani et Quadi.]** Caesar, *B. G.* I. 51, enumerates the Marcomani among the allies of Ariovistus. At this time, they were settled in Bohemia whither the Suevian chief Maroboduus had transferred them from their original settlements on the Rhine and Main. Marcomani means simply 'men of the border.' The Quadi were to the east of the Marcomani, in Moravia. Ammianus Marcellinus, XVII. 12. 1, describes them as like the Sarmatae, whose neighbours they were. Both the Marcomani and Quadi waged war with the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, A. D. 166.

3. **Eaque...peragitur.]** 'This I may call the frontier of Germany as far as it is completed by the Danube' (*C* and *B*). Tacitus here, as throughout his work, speaks of Germany from a Roman point of view. 'Peragitur' (though not exactly the word we should expect) is no doubt correct, and expresses the notion of a long extended boundary.

4. **Saepius pecunia juvantur.**] Comp. Ch. 15, Jam *et pecuniam* accipere docuimus. Large sums of money were sent by Domitian to Decebalus, king of the Daci, and Trajan sought by similar means to attach the Marcomani to the interests of the Roman empire.

5. **Nec minus valent.**] Sc. these kings are just as powerful among their people as though they were helped by Roman arms instead of by Roman money.

CHAPTER XLIII.

1. **Retro.**] Sc. further in the interior, north of the tribes mentioned in the preceding chapter.

2. **Marsigni ... Buri.**] These tribes must have occupied Silesia, Gallicia, &c.

3. **Referunt.**] 'Reproduce,' i. e. resemble.

4. **Osos.**] See note 11, Ch. 28.

5. **Quo magis pudeat.**] Sc. to complete their shame in submitting to tribute. Tacitus implies that with the iron of their mines they might and should have furnished themselves with the means of throwing off subjection.

6. **Ceterum.**] This word marks the opposition between saltus, &c. and the preceding 'pauca campestrium.' 'Vertices' would be the distinctly marked summits, 'jugum' the continuous ridge mentioned in the next sentence.

7. **Continuum montium jugum.**] Probably the Riesengebirge or Sudeten range, to the south of Silesia.

8. **Ultra quod.**] Sc. in a northerly direction. The Ligii must therefore have occupied Silesia and Poland, &c.

9. **Interpretatione Romana.**] Tacitus, of course, does not mean that the deities worshipped by the Nahanarvali are actually identical with Castor and Pollux, but simply that there is a general resemblance between them. The words 'ea vis numini' (such are the attributes of the divinity) are added, to make this clear. 'Interpretatio Romana' thus means the description which a Roman would naturally give of the matter.

10. **Nomen Alcis.**] As there were two of these divinities, it is possible that Kritz may be right in taking Alcis as a dative plural. It is to be noted that in Diodorus Siculus (IV. 56) there is an allusion to Castor and Pollux as having been worshipped by the Celts near the ocean.

11. **Superstitionis peregrinae.]** See note 7, Ch. 39.

12. **Super vires.]** 'Besides their military strength.'

13. **Truces.]** Connect this with 'super vires.' 'Trux' specially denotes 'fierce looking.'

14. **Insitae...lenocinantur.]** 'Make the most of their natural ferocity by the help of art and opportunity.' This use of the word 'lenocinari' belongs to the post-Augustan age. Comp. Pliny, *Epp.* I. 8, Anceps hic et lubricus locus est, etiam quum illi necessitas *lenocinatur;* and *Epp.* II. 19, Potest tamen fieri ut libro isto novitas *lenocinetur.*

15. **Tempore.]** 'Opportunity,' explained by the next clause.

16. **Ipsaque ... exercitus.]** 'By the very terror and gloomy aspect of their death-like host.' 'Feralis' has a kind of double sense; it means 'death-like' and 'death-portending.' Comp. *Ann.* II. 31, '*Feralibus* jam sibi tenebris duos ictus in viscera direxit; XIV. 30, Intercursantibus feminis in modum Furiarum veste *ferali; Hist.* I. 37, Horror animum subit quoties recordor *feralem* introitum.

17. **Gothones.]** This tribe (mentioned under the name Gotones, *Ann.* II. 62) dwelt, according to Ptolemy, III. 5. 20, on the banks of the Vistula.

18. **Regnantur.]** 'Are ruled by kings.'

19. **Paulo jam adductius.]** The metaphor in 'adductius' is taken from the phrase 'adducere habenas,' 'to tighten the reins.' Comp. the expression, '*adductius* imperitari,' *Hist.* III. 7, and '*adductum* et quasi virile servitium,' *Ann.* XII. 7. 'Jam' has no reference to the time at which Tacitus was writing as contrasted with a former period, but indicates that he has reached a certain point in his description. It thus implies, 'Now that we are speaking of these northern tribes.' Comp. 'nullis *jam* exceptionibus,' Ch. 44, where 'jam' denotes that as you go farther north, all limitations (exceptiones) on the royal power cease.

20. **Nondum tamen supra libertatem.]** Sc. 'not yet however inconsistently with freedom.' 'Nondum' implies that there are tribes farther north of which this could not be said.

21. **Protinus.]** The word is here used, as occasionally elsewhere, of *place.*

22. **Rugii.]** This tribe (whose name survives in the island of Rugen) seems to have dwelt round the mouths of the Oder.

CHAPTER XLIV.

1 **Suionum hinc civitates.]** Under this name Tacitus includes Norway and Sweden, which he supposed to be islands. Pliny, *H. N.* IV. 27, speaks of the sinus Codanus (the Baltic) as crowded with islands, Scandinavia being the most famous of them, and of unknown extent.

2. **Eo differt.]** Sc. differs from other vessels, is peculiar in this respect.

3. **Utrimque...agit.]** 'A prow at either extremity acts as a forepart always ready for putting in to shore.' Vessels of similar construction were employed by Germanicus on the Rhine (*Ann.* II. 6), and by some of the barbarian tribes on the Pontus (*Hist.* III. 47).

4. **Nec velis ministrantur.]** 'They are not worked by sails.' Virg. *Aen.* VI. 302, uses the same phrase, 'Ipse ratem conto subigit *velisque ministrat.*'

5. **Remos in ordinem.]** Sc. a regular and fixed row of oars. 'In ordinem' is equivalent to 'ut ordo fiat.'

6. **Solutum...et mutabile.]** 'Not fixed and capable of being shifted.'

7. **Eoque unus.]** Sc. the wealthiest among them.

8. **Nullis jam exceptionibus.]** See note 19, Ch. 43. An 'exceptio' would be such as was stipulated for by the seven conspirators against the Magian Smerdis. One of the seven was to be king, but the houses of all were to be free. See Herod. III. 83.

9. **Non precario jure parendi.]** 'With no uncertain claim to obedience.' (*C* and *B*). The 'jus parendi' did not in any way depend on the will and pleasure of the people. Comp. the expression, '*precarium* seni imperium,' in reference to Galba (*Hist.* I. 52). 'Precarius' is a word comparatively common in the post-Augustan writers, and may be often rendered by its English derivative. Ovid uses it in the sense of 'uncertain,' 'transitory,' *Met.* IX. 76, Quid fore te credis, falsum qui versus in anguem, Arma aliena moves? quem forma *precaria* celat.

10. **In promiscuo.]** 'At the general disposal.' 'Promiscuus' denotes 'open to all without distinction.' Comp. Ch. 28, sedes *promiscuas* adhuc.

11. **Lasciviunt.]** 'Become demoralised.'

12. **Regia utilitas.]** 'The policy of a monarch.'

CHAPTER XLV.

1. **Pigrum ac prope immotum.]** Comp. *Agr.* 10, 'Mare *pigrum* et grave remigantibus.' Pliny, *H. N.* IV. 16, 20, uses the still stronger expression 'mare concretum.'

2. **Solis...edurat.]** Tacitus endeavours to explain this phenomenon, *Agr.* 12, where he speaks of the sun not rising or setting, but only crossing the heavens.

3. **Emergentis.]** This appears to be the true reading, and is adopted by Ritter and Kritz. Orelli, after Ernesti, rejects it as an interpolation. Some word of the kind seems to be required. Lipsius conjectured se mergentis, as though Tacitus were speaking of the remote west, to which he afterwards alludes in this chapter. Here however he is confining his description to the regions of the north, and the context would, on the whole, indicate that he is referring to the north-east portions of Germany, and to the adjacent seas.

4. **Formas deorum, &c.]** There may be an allusion to the splendour of the Aurora Borealis.

5. **Persuasio.]** 'Popular belief.' Comp. *Hist.* V. 5, 'Eadem de inferis *persuasio*,' and V. 13, pluribus *persuasio* inerat fore ut valesceret oriens, *Agr.* 11, superstitionum *persuasiones*.

6. **Et fama vera.]** These words are introduced parenthetically to express the writer's own conviction. Very probably he derived his opinion from conversations with his father-in-law, Agricola.

7. **Tantum natura.]** Sc. the world of men and of living creatures extends only thus far. Comp. *Agr.* 33, where Agricola in his speech to his army describes Britain as terrarum ac *naturae* finis. The notions of a physical philosopher of Tacitus' age are expressed by Avitus, a contemporary of Seneca, and quoted by him as saying, Ita est rerum *natura;* post omnia Oceanus, post Oceanum nihil.

8. **Ergo jam dextro, &c.]** 'Ergo' (a word commonly denoting a strict logical conclusion) here implies that no more nations are to be found north of the Suiones, but that you must now go by the right (sc. the eastern) shore of the Baltic in order to meet with fresh tribes.

9. **Aestiorum gentes.]** Tribes to the east of the Vistula, on the shores of the Baltic. Their name is preserved in 'Esthonia.'

10. **Ritus habitusque.]** Sc. 'Religious rites, and fashions.' 'Habitus' has special reference to their outward appearance and style of dress, &c.

11. **Matrem deum.]** Sc. Nerthus, see Ch. 40. Tacitus does not think it necessary to repeat here that he is describing their worship under Roman names.

12. **Insigne superstitionis.]** Sc. a religious symbol. The 'formae aprorum' must have been a species of amulet. The 'figures and images' which in Ch. 7 are said to have been carried into battle, were no doubt on a larger scale, though it would be rash to assume that there is no connexion between them and what is here mentioned. It is clear, however, that in this passage Tacitus is speaking of something worn habitually, not merely on exceptional occasions.

13. **Omniumque tutela.]** 'A protection against all dangers.' A rather harsh phrase, but not unlike ferarum imbriumque suffugium, Ch. 46, and subsidium fortunae, Livy, XXII. 32. Ritter reads omni tutela, in the sense of 'every sort of defence.'

14. **Laborant.]** This word is rarely used transitively, except by the poets. Comp. Horat. *Epod.* V. 60, quale non perfectius Meae *laborarint* manus. Somewhat similar is the expression Ch. 30, vallare noctem.

15. **Sucinum ... vocant.]** Pliny, *H. N.* XXXVII. 11, gives a more particular account of the nature and properties of the amber, and says that one of these northern islands went by the name of Glesaria, and was visited by a Roman fleet under Germanicus.

16. **Quae natura...gignat.]** 'What is its nature or what process produces it?'

17. **Ut barbaris.]** 'As was natural to barbarians.'

18. **Jacebat.]** 'It lay unheeded.'

19. **Donec luxuria...nomen.]** Roman ladies wore amber necklaces, and from time to time used amber balls to cool their hands. See Juv. VI. 573.

20. **Rude.]** 'In a rough state.' So Pliny (quoted above) describes the Indian amber as *rude*, pineo cortice adhaerente.

21. **Informe.]** 'In shapeless lumps.' Comp. Ch. 16, 'materia informi;' and see note 9, Ch. 2.

22. **Tamen.]** Sc. though we give such a price for it, still it is simply a juice, &c. &c.

23. **Terrena quaedam......animalia.]** 'Reptiles and even winged insects.' Pliny, in the passage above referred to, speaks of ants, gnats, lizards, &c. being visible (translucentia) in the amber. Martial has three epigrams (IV. 32, 59; VI. 15) on

the subject. The first (the epigram which suggested some of the lines in the epitaph recently discovered and attributed to Milton) is on a bee, 'Phaethontide condita gutta;' the second and third on an ant and viper under the same circumstances.

24. **Sudant.**] Comp. Virg. *Georg.* II. 118, Quid tibi adorato referam *sudantia* ligno Balsama. Ritter and Kritz read 'sudant' (for which there is MS. authority) in preference to 'sudantur,' as there appears to be no satisfactory instance of the passive form with this meaning.

25. **Quae......expressa, &c.**] According to their grammatical construction these words ought to be referred to 'nemora lucosque.' They refer, in fact, to the productions (quae sudant) of these groves.

26. **Adversa littora.**] Sc. the opposite shores, in the sense of opposite to the sea (proximum mare) just mentioned. The words have been wrongly understood of 'eastern' as opposed to western shores.

27. **Pinguem.**] Comp. Ov. *Trist.* v. 5, 11, thura *pingues* facientia flammas.

28. **Ut in picem resinamve.**] 'Into something like pitch or resin.'

29. **Sitonum gentes.**] The Sitones are named only in this passage. Finland would seem to have been their locality. It is possible that the Germans may have given this name to the non-German populations of Scandinavia.

30. **In tantum......degenerant.**] 'So low have they fallen, not only from freedom but even from slavery itself' (*C* and *B*).

CHAPTER XLVI.

1. **Peucinorum, &c.**] These tribes were to the east of the Vistula, and occupied the regions between that river and the Tanais or Don. The Peucini derived their name from Peuce, an island at the mouth of the Danube. They were, as appears from Strabo, VII. 305, a branch of the Basternae, a numerous and powerful people, mentioned by Livy (XL. 57, 58) as allies of Philip, the father of Perseus of Macedon, in his war with Rome. Pliny, *H. N.* IV. 28, speaks of them as neighbours of the Dacians (contermini Dacis). Veneti (or Venedi, as it appears in Pliny) is the same name as Wend.

2. **Fenni.**] Seemingly identical with the Φίννοι of Ptolemy (III. 5) and with our 'Fins.'

3. **Sede ac domiciliis.**] Sc. 'in the permanence of their settlements.' The Sarmatian peoples, on the contrary, were as a rule nomadic.

4. **Sordes omnium ac torpor procerum.**] This is the punctuation of Ritter and Kritz. All lived in carelessness and filth, and even their chiefs were indolent. Or it may mean, 'All were filthy; the chiefs were both filthy and indolent.' Comp Ch. 15, fortissimus quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens.

5. **In Sarmatarum habitum foedantur.**] 'They are debased into a resemblance to the Sarmatae.' 'Habitus' probably includes both physical and mental characteristics. The Sarmatae had something of the repulsiveness of the Tartar appearance and character.

6. **Ex moribus.**] Sc. from the manners of the Sarmatae.

7. **Quidquid inter, &c.**] 'Wherever a wood or a hill rises,' or perhaps a hendiadis for 'wooded hills.'

8. **Domos figunt.**] 'They have fixed habitations.'

9. **Redeunt quoque, &c.**] The young men come back to it from hunting; the old make it their abode (receptaculum) through the day.

10. **Ingemere agris.**] 'To groan over field-labour.' Comp. Virgil's expression, *Georg.* I. 46, '*ingemere* aratro' of the bull.

11. **Illaborare domibus.**] 'To toil at building houses.' Kritz, however, takes it to mean 'toiling within doors;' sedentary occupation as opposed to field labour.

12. **Suas versare.**] 'To subject the fortunes of themselves and others to the alternations of hope and fear.' The notion, perhaps, is that of the anxious life of the trader, whose gains and losses depend to a great extent on fortune.

13. **Securi, &c.**] 'Careless of mankind, careless of the gods' (*C* and *B*).

14. **Cetera jam fabulosa, &c.**] 'Every thing else now becomes fabulous,' &c. Comp. for the use of *jam* Ch. 44, Nullis *jam* exceptionibus, and Ch. 45, Ergo *jam* dextro Suevici littore, &c. It is not difficult to see how such stories may have originated. Pliny, *H. N.* IV. 27, says that there were reported to be islands, of which the inhabitants were called Hippopodes. Comp. also *Ann.* II. 24, where we are told that some of the Roman soldiers of Germanicus' army who had been wrecked on the fleet's return, brought back strange tales of sea-monsters, half man, half beast (monstra maris, ambiguas hominum et beluarum formas).

15. **In medium relinquam.**] 'I will leave to be an open question.' 'In medium' is equivalent to 'ut medium sit.' Cicero (*pro Coelio*, 20) uses the phrase 'in medio relinquam' with the same meaning.

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WHICH OCCUR IN THE GERMANIA.

The Numerals refer to the Chapters.

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